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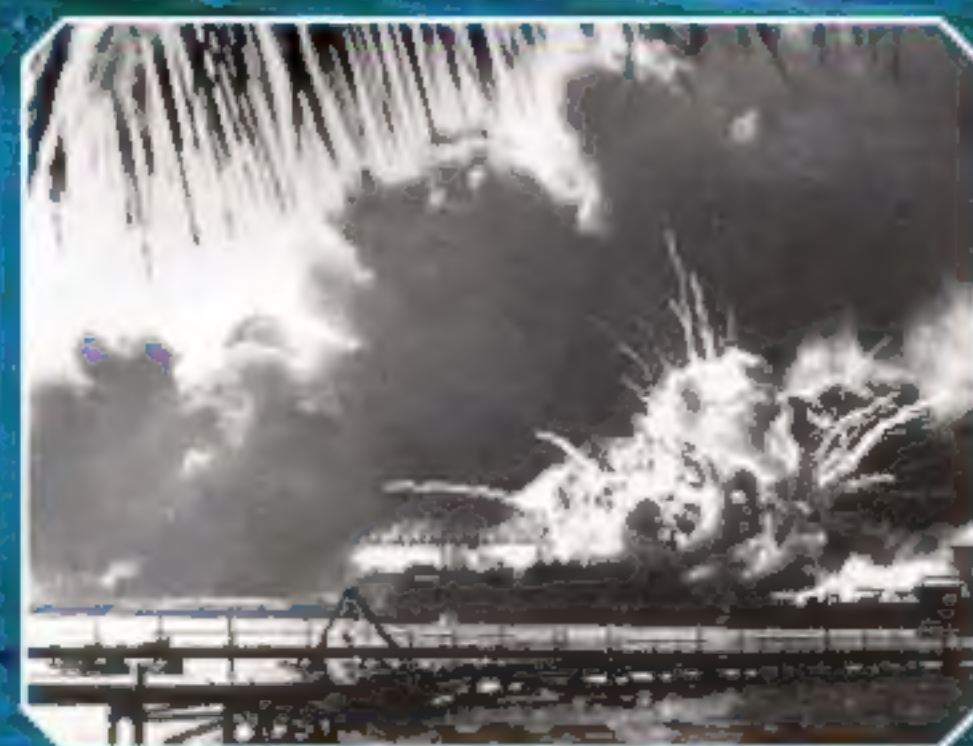
PEARL HARBOR

& THE WAR IN
THE PACIFIC

Digital
Edition

FUTURE

SEVENTH
EDITION



FIRST-HAND ACCOUNTS • DETAILED MAPS • THE AFTERMATH

**HISTORY
WAR**

Book of

PEARL HARBOR

& THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC

The Japanese attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor is one of modern history's most shocking events - a devastating military strike equal parts daring and appalling. Its significance becomes even greater when considered in the context of what followed: the formal American entry into World War II and the beginning of the protracted and unimaginably hostile Pacific War. In this History of War bookazine you'll explore both Pearl Harbor and the war in the Pacific extensively, from the genesis of Japan's preemptive attack to the United States' use of atomic weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Featuring moving photography from front lines, declassified archival documents, and eyewitness accounts from those present during the conflict, this is an essential companion for anyone with an interest in one of the 20th century's defining periods.



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F U T U R E
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Book of

PEARL HARBOR

& THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC

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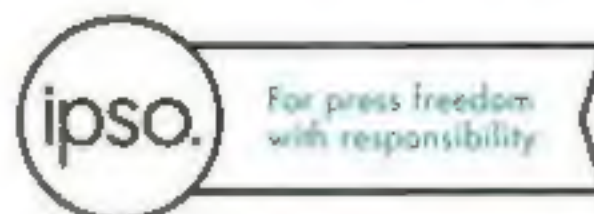
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HISTORY of WAR

bookazine series





CONTENTS

8 Foreword

PEARL HARBOR

- 12 Japanese expansion 1941-42
- 14 Japan's martial heritage
- 18 Plans for a fatal blow
- 22 Key player: Isoroku Yamamoto
- 24 The orchestrators: Japan's naval commanders
- 28 The American preparation
- 32 Key player: Husband E Kimmel
- 34 Defenders of Pearl Harbor
- 36 The attack commences
- 38 The Imperial Japanese Navy
- 40 The first wave descends
- 44 The aerial attack force
- 46 The second wave strikes
- 50 Eyewitness: Charles E Ebel
- 56 A fateful decision: Japan's third wave
- 58 Battleships of Pearl Harbor
- 62 The salvage operation
- 64 Aftershock: Responding to Pearl Harbor
- 70 Pearl Harbor as history





SEE DOCUMENT
SECTIONS
THROUGHOUT
THE BOOK



WAR IN THE PACIFIC

- 76** Blitzkrieg in Asia
- 78** Corregidor:
Fall of the Philippines
- 80** Operations map 1942
- 82** The Battle of Coral Sea
- 86** The Battle of Midway
- 88** Battle for the Solomons
- 92** Guadalcanal
- 94** Operations map 1943
- 96** Operation Cartwheel: War for
New Guinea
- 98** Island hopping in the Pacific:
Gilbert and Marshall Islands
- 106** Operations map 1944
- 108** The Marianas:
Defence to the death
- 110** Battle of the Philippine Sea
- 112** The Battle of Peleliu
- 116** Return to the Philippines
- 118** The Battle of Leyte Gulf
- 120** Operations map 1945
- 122** Iwo Jima
- 128** The firebombing of Tokyo
- 130** Okinawa
- 132** The atomic bombs
- 134** The Japanese surrender
- 138** What if Japan had not struck
Pearl Harbor?
- 142** Image Credits



“BRUTAL BEYOND IMAGINATION”

Foreword by Captain Dale A Dye USMC (Ret.)

Spend time talking to our dwindling number of living World War II veterans and you'll likely notice a subtle difference between what you hear from those who served in Europe and those who fought in the Pacific. Combat, whether it was on the ground, in the air or at sea, is the common denominator and you'll cringe at similar tales of exhaustion, deprivation, brutality and fear. Probe a bit and you'll find bitterness among the veterans that faced the Japanese in fighting across the vast reaches of the Pacific that's often curiously absent in the memories of their brethren who slugged it out with German forces in the European Theatre of Operations.

“Listen here,” said one American Navy gunner's mate who survived the sinking of the USS Vincennes at the Battle of Savo Island during the Solomons Campaign in 1942, “we didn't even have a short-hand for where we were tangling with the Japs. You'd read about this or that happening in the ETO, but nobody gave a damn about us. We didn't even know where we were half the time. It was just somewhere in the South Pacific and anyplace out there was bad enough.”

His comments reflect the attitude of many who fought the marauding Imperial Japanese Army in remote, unfamiliar and often unpronounceable locations in the vast stretches of the Pacific during World War II. Even after the infamous Japanese sneak attack on the US Naval Base at Pearl Harbor in 1941 which emphasized the significant Japanese threat to the free world, they were a second priority to the Allies' primary concern of defeating Hitler's forces in Europe. And they faced a significantly different enemy in very different battle zones than what other Allied forces were dealing with in North Africa, the Mediterranean and on the European continent.

Battles are won by fire and manoeuvre. Wars are won by logistics and in the Pacific, the Allied logistical tail stretched precariously over thousands of miles of open ocean patrolled and controlled early in the war by a deadly combination of Japanese warships and carrier-based combat aircraft. Consider that after the D-Day invasion in 1944, the Allied forces grinding through German defenders in France only had to reach back across the narrow English Channel for resupply or reinforcement, a matter of days at most. In the Pacific, it was most often a matter of weeks, or even months, before vital war materiel and manpower reached the army and Marine forces fighting on remote islands and atolls. In the meantime, soldiers and Marines bleeding and dying on Guadalcanal, Bougainville, Guam, Saipan, Tarawa and Peleliu just had to make do with what they carried ashore or captured from the Japanese defenders. In the Pacific, getting ashore to engage the Japanese was often the easiest part of the most difficult of all combat manoeuvres, the amphibious assault. The hard part – especially in the early Pacific campaigns of World War II – was staying ashore and surviving against fanatical





Japanese defenders who refused to give an inch or surrender, even in the face of overwhelming firepower. The celebrated 1st Marine Division that carried out the first offensive move of the war against Japanese forces at Guadalcanal was stranded on that jungle island when the Navy task force that delivered them to the Solomons departed under threat of Japanese air and surface attacks. They took with them much of the division's supply, leaving the Marines to hang on alone by their bloody fingernails.

It was often a similar story as Allied forces crawled slowly and painfully across the Pacific, sometimes responding to General Douglas MacArthur and sometimes to Admiral Chester Nimitz or other Allied commanders in a confusing division of territory and conflicting strategies. Along the way, they practiced and perfected amphibious tactics and combat techniques that served and succeeded on battlefields where – unlike infantry engagements in Europe – close combat was very often defined by the length of a bayonet. And when that bayonet was being shoved around by a Japanese soldier, schooled in the way of bushido, another significant difference between war in Europe and war in the Pacific became painfully obvious.

War with the Japanese in the Pacific – especially infantry combat on coral beaches or jungle forests – was brutal beyond imagination simply because the Japanese soldier thought and fought differently with a fanatical, no quarter psychology that differed shockingly from the Western approach to warfare. For the most part, defeating the Japanese required killing them, often in a manner so brutal and barbaric that it left livid scars in the minds of the Westerners doing the necessary work required to stem the Japanese tide of conquest in the Pacific.

With the exception of a few iconic images such as the flag-raising by US Marines on Iwo Jima and MacArthur wading ashore in his return to the Philippines, World War II in the Pacific has been overshadowed by the more accessible and understandable campaigns in Europe. With this book and its marvellous, rare reproductions, we hope to shed some much-needed light on the service and sacrifice of the gallant men and women who served in the Pacific War.

PEARL HARBOR

EXPLORE THE EVENTS, ACTIONS AND PEOPLE SURROUNDING THE INFAMOUS ATTACK

- 12** Japanese expansion 1941-42
- 14** Japan's martial heritage
- 18** Plans for a fatal blow
- 22** Key player: Isoroku Yamamoto
- 24** The chief orchestrators
- 28** The American preparation
- 32** Key player: Husband E Kimmel
- 34** Defenders of Pearl Harbor
- 36** The attack commences
- 38** The Imperial Japanese Navy
- 40** The first wave descends
- 44** The aerial attack force
- 46** The second wave strikes
- 50** Eyewitness: Charles E Ebel
- 56** A fateful decision: the third wave
- 58** Battleships of Pearl Harbor
- 62** The salvage operation
- 64** Aftershock: responding to Pearl Harbor
- 70** Pearl Harbor as history







MONGOLIA

MANCHURIA

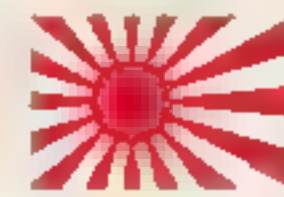
CHINA

KOREA

JAPAN



Japanese fleet
leaves Japan,
November 26, 1941



Japanese fleet returns to Japan,
December 23, 1941

Japan conquers Burma,
January 20–June 16, 1942

Nanking

Shanghai

OKINAWA

IWO JIMA

Hong Kong

FORMOSA

Blitzkrieg in Asia:
Japan attacks Malaya,
Burma, and the Philippines,
December 8, 1941

MARIANA
ISLANDS

Guam falls,
December 10,
1941

SAIPAN

GUAM

Corregidor:
the fall of the Philippines,
May 7–8, 1942

PALAU
ISLANDS

TRUK

BURMA



SIAM

FRENCH
INDO-
CHINA

Rangoon

Saigon



PHILIPPINES

Manila



MALAY STATES



Singapore

BORNEO

CELEBES

Batavia (Jakarta)

DUTCH EAST INDIES

TIMOR

Hollandia



Rabaul

NEW GUINEA

Port Moresby

The fall of Singapore,
February 7–15, 1942

CORAL
SEA

Darwin

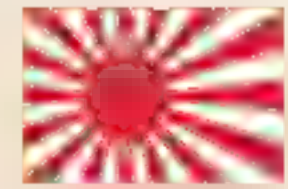
AUSTRALIA

INDIAN OCEAN

JAPANESE EXPANSION 1941-42

P A C I F I C
O C E A N

MIDWAY



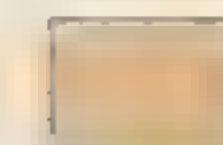
Japanese planes from
six aircraft carriers
attack U.S. Pacific Fleet
at Pearl Harbor,
December 7, 1941



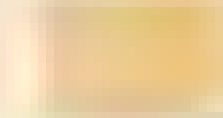
Pearl Harbor

HAWAIIAN
ISLANDS

KEY TO MAPS



Japanese Empire 1942



Japanese-allied states



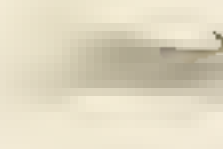
Imperial Japanese Navy



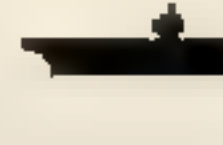
Japanese occupations



Japanese military bases



Japanese military advances



Aircraft carrier fleet



Army land battles



Air attacks



Limit of Japanese expansion

WAKE ISLAND

Battle of Wake Island,
December 8–23, 1941



MARSHALL
ISLANDS

Japanese forces
occupy Tarawa,
December 9, 1941

GILBERT
ISLANDS

TARAWA

Japan attacks Rabaul,
January 23, 1942

SOLOMON
ISLANDS

P A C I F I C
O C E A N

PEARL HARBOR

FIRST WAVE

SECOND WAVE

Wheeler Field,
U.S. Army Air Force
fighter base

O A-H U

WAIHAWA

PEARL HARBOR

KANEOHE

HONOLULU

U.S. air base

Hickam Field,
U.S. air base

Bellows Field,
U.S. air base



Japanese planes
target battleships and
aircraft carriers at Pearl Harbor.
Attack starts at 7.49 a.m.

JAPAN'S MARTIAL HERITAGE

The Japanese military was a well-oiled machine by the time it entered into war with the United States in 1941

WORDS WILLIAM WELSH

The inky darkness that engulfed Port Arthur on the night of 8-9 February 1904 concealed Captain Asai Shojiro's destroyers as they slid as silently as possible toward the Russian Pacific Squadron anchored on the outskirts of the main harbour. Lookouts on the Russian warships stabbed the dark waters with their searchlights. Although they saw some vessels approaching, they mistakenly assumed they were friendly patrol boats returning for the night.

A few minutes before midnight, the Japanese destroyers fired several salvos of torpedoes at the dark hulls of the Russian vessels. As the torpedoes struck home, explosions reverberated against the shoreline. Further out at sea, Vice-Admiral Togo Heihachiro's battle fleet began bombarding the Russian shore batteries and the fleet with its long-range guns. The Japanese had inflicted heavy damage on two Russian battleships and a cruiser. The Russians were stunned by the attack. The Japanese had not even made a formal declaration of war.

RIGHT A samurai signifying the feudal world of the shoguns travels to a meeting with US Commodore Matthew C Perry's squadron anchored in Tokyo Bay in July 1853

BELOW Using antiquated weapons and tactics, China's Qing Empire proved no match for a modernised Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War that ended in a Japanese victory in April 1895





ABOVE A Japanese fleet led by Vice-Admiral Togo Heihachiro outfought the Russians at the Battle of Tsushima in May 1905, thereby ending the two powers' contest for superiority in the north Pacific

The Japanese, who had been forced by the Western powers to return Port Arthur following the First Sino-Japanese War a decade earlier, were furious when Russia compelled China to allow it to occupy the warm-water port after the Japanese had withdrawn. The Japanese secretly vowed revenge. The surprise attack was a strategy designed to get a much-needed initial advantage over a formidable foe, and the Japanese would repeat it 37 years later at Pearl Harbor.

The eventual triumph of the Japanese over Tsarist Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 heralded the arrival of Japan on the global stage. The speed of its rise to prominence is truly remarkable. In the space of half a century, Japan had rocketed from a feudal nation to

a first-rate power. The arrival of US Commodore Matthew Perry's naval expedition in Tokyo Bay in July 1853 was the catalyst that opened the previously closed markets of feudal Japan to world trade.

Although compelled against their will to begin trading with Western powers, the Japanese sought to elevate themselves as a people to the same standards of economic and military achievement that the Western powers enjoyed in relation to the rest of the world. To their chagrin, however, the Japanese found Westerners treated them as inferior. What is more, Europeans and Americans demanded special treatment; for example, they insisted that their merchants should only be subject to the laws and courts of their home country.

RAPID MODERNISATION

The Japanese progress toward a modern economy and lifestyle proceeded by leaps and bounds. By the 1880s, the Japanese enjoyed many of the fruits of the industrial revolution, such as railroads, a telegraph system, shipyards, a merchant marine fleet, and factories that used machines to mass-produce products. While outwardly the Japanese were doing well in relation to the rest of the modern world, their fragile national pride would receive repeated blows in the decades ahead.

Although it joined the race for colonies late in the game, Japan grabbed the Ryukyu Islands in 1879 and renamed them the Okinawa Prefecture. Although Japan gained substantial territory on the mainland from China in the wake of the First Sino-Japanese War, Russia pressured France and Germany into assisting it in unravelling the surrender terms. Unable to resist the collective pressure of the three powers in the Triple Intervention, Japan relinquished the Liaodong Peninsula, including the strategically important Port Arthur.

Russia was Japan's chief rival at the turn of the 20th century, and a showdown was inevitable. The Japanese

US SCORNS CHINA INCIDENT

One of the major sources of friction between the Japanese Empire and the United States in the decade preceding Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor was Japanese aggression against China to obtain badly needed war materials. Japan's defeat of China's Qing Empire in the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 left China weak and unstable. An outcome of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War a decade later was that Japan was allowed to treat Korea and Manchuria as spheres of influence.

The Chinese Revolution of 1911 replaced the Qing Dynasty with a republic, but it rested on a shaky foundation. The Kuomintang, or Chinese Nationalist Party, proved incapable of countering the elite Japanese army group known as the Kwantung Army, which fiercely guarded Japanese infrastructure in

Manchuria. The Japanese annexed Korea in 1910, and they bided their time waiting for an opportunity to do the same with Manchuria. When the Americans were struggling with the collapse of their economy in the Great Depression, the Kwantung Army made its move.

Japanese agents detonated an explosive charge in September 1931 on part of the South Manchuria Railway near Mukden. They blamed Chinese dissidents for the incident. Over the course of the next 12 months, the Kwantung Army established its control over a puppet state in Manchuria. Once Japan had firm control of Manchuria, it began shipping the region's coal and iron home to fuel Japanese factories.

By summer 1936, the Japanese Imperial Army had concentrated large forces in southern Manchuria not far from Peking. A minor



incident in which the Kwantung Army provoked Chinese nationalist forces near Wanping, led to a full-scale Japanese invasion of northern China. The Japanese proceeded to occupy the Yangtze River valley.

During the course of the undeclared war, the Japanese committed many atrocities, such as

the Nanking Massacre. In December 1937, Japanese aircraft attacked US vessels in the Yangtze River. Although the Japanese pretended the damage they inflicted to the USS Panay was an accident, the US public was outraged by the attack. Sanctions followed, and the two nations drifted closer to war.



seethed over Russia's diplomatic victory against them in which Tsarist forces occupied Port Arthur in 1898. After their surprise attack on Port Arthur, the Japanese took advantage of their close proximity to the theatre of war to gain the upper hand over the course of the short conflict. The knockout blow to the Russians occurred when the Japanese fleet decisively defeated the Russian fleet in Tsushima Strait in May 1905.

Despite having won another great victory, the Japanese received minimal territorial spoils of war. In a peace brokered by the Americans, the Japanese won the right to treat Korea and Manchuria as spheres of influence. The Japanese victory had two key results. First, it marked the emergence of Japan as a first-rate power. Second, the United States soon replaced Russia as Japan's chief rival.

SHIPBUILDING LIMITATION

Working together, the British and Japanese captured the German-controlled port of Tsingtao in China at the outset of World War I in 1914. For joining the Allies, Japan received control of four key island groups in the Pacific that had previously belonged to the Germans.

The Great War ultimately brought about the downfall of the Russian Empire. As a result, the Russians lacked the resources to project power into the Far East as they had before the war. The power vacuum created as a result of a crippled post-war Russia meant that Japan was not going to be challenged directly by forces in the region from attacking China. Like Russia before it, China was plunged into a civil war between communist and nationalistic forces in the late 1920s. The Japanese intended to take full advantage of China's turmoil.

Immediately following the Great War, Great Britain and the United States sought to control the size of Japan's navy. Initially, at least, the Japanese agreed to abide

ABOVE The battleship Yamato exemplified Japan's intention to build ships that were more powerful than the lowa-class battleships launched by the United States


by the Washington Treaty of 1922 of which they were a signatory. The treaty set forth a 5:5:3 ratio whereby the Japanese could only build three major ships to every five built by the other two great naval powers. The Japanese took offence at terms thrust upon them by the Western powers. In the eyes of the Japanese, the rule relegated them to a second-rate naval power.

Japan proposed a racial equality clause be included in the Covenant of the League of Nations, but the United States and Great Britain blocked the effort. Moreover, the United States and Australia passed laws blocking Japanese aliens from gaining citizenship in their countries. This treatment further alienated the Japanese people. The Japanese believed that the United States and Great Britain were determined to stifle the Japanese military, economy and culture.

Japan was in a bind, however, because it depended heavily on the United States for minerals and natural resources such as petroleum that it did not possess.

BELOW Japanese troops land in China in preparation for the attack on German-held Tsingtao in 1914. For joining the Allies in World War I, Japan received four island groups that previously belonged to the Germans





By the late 1930s, Japan was importing upwards of 90 per cent of its aviation fuel and oil from the United States. If the Americans decided to curtail or stop the shipments, those who ruled Japan believed they would have no recourse but to take by force the raw materials it needed from northern China and countries in the South Pacific that were rich in natural resources, such as Malaya, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies.

For this reason, the Japanese in the 1930s aggressively pushed into Manchuria and northern China and also developed the imperialist concept of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere by which the Japanese government felt it had a right to take the raw materials needed for its industrial base from its weaker neighbours.

In the late 1930s, after Japan had renounced the Washington Treaty limiting the amount of ships it could build, Japanese shipyards worked around the clock to produce bigger and better-armed ships so that if war became inevitable, Japan would be ready. The Japanese deliberately designed their best warships so that they were more heavily gunned than the same class of ship in the US Navy. In addition, they also produced large numbers of land-based and carrier-based aircraft to boost their striking power.

PUSHING TOWARDS WAR

As the 1930s came to an end, the Japanese Imperial Army was actively engaged in a number of hotspots. Japan and the Soviet Union fought a four-month series of battles known as Khalkhin-Gol in mid-1939 along the border of Japanese-occupied Manchuria and the Soviet Union. When the Japanese sent troops into northern Indochina in 1940 to block the flow of Western arms to the Chinese Nationalists, the United States halted exports of aviation fuel, steel and scrap iron to Japan.

Both the United States and Japan were reacting to the moves of each other in rapid fashion. In July 1940, President Franklin D Roosevelt ordered the US Pacific fleet to shift its base from San Diego to Pearl Harbor. Two months later, Japan signed a mutual assistance agreement known as the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. Also in September 1940, the Japanese invaded Indochina and established it as a Japanese protectorate.

Although the US government had allowed oil exports to Japan to continue after establishing the embargo of aviation fuel and most raw materials, it finally cut off the supply of oil in mid-1940. Japan had already tapped into Manchuria and Indochina, but its military leaders were actively planning to invade the aforementioned targets in the South Pacific.

If Imperial Japan managed to conquer those countries, it would have access to the rubber, tin, iron and oil needed for its war machine. Japanese war planners intended to strike hard and fast, and then establish a perimeter in the middle of the Pacific Ocean dotted with island strongholds that could resist a counterattack by the United States. The mood in Japan was one of paranoia and an 'us-against-them' mentality in relation to the Western powers.

In order to establish its co-prosperity sphere, the Japanese would simultaneously have to fight the United States and Great Britain. The industrial might of the United States dwarfed that of Japan. Some of the Japanese commanders understood this, but others ignored reality. To improve their chance of success, the Japanese intended to strike at Pearl Harbor in the same fashion they had attacked the Russian fleet at Port Arthur in 1904. In that war, Japan had emerged the victor. But this was a different time, a different location, and a much stronger adversary.

BELOW When the Japanese established a protectorate over Vichy French Indochina in September 1941, the United States stopped the remaining oil exports to the resource-starved empire





PLANS FOR A FATAL BLOW

The Japanese revised their plans to ensure that when hundreds of attack aircraft descended on Pearl Harbor, it would inflict devastating damage

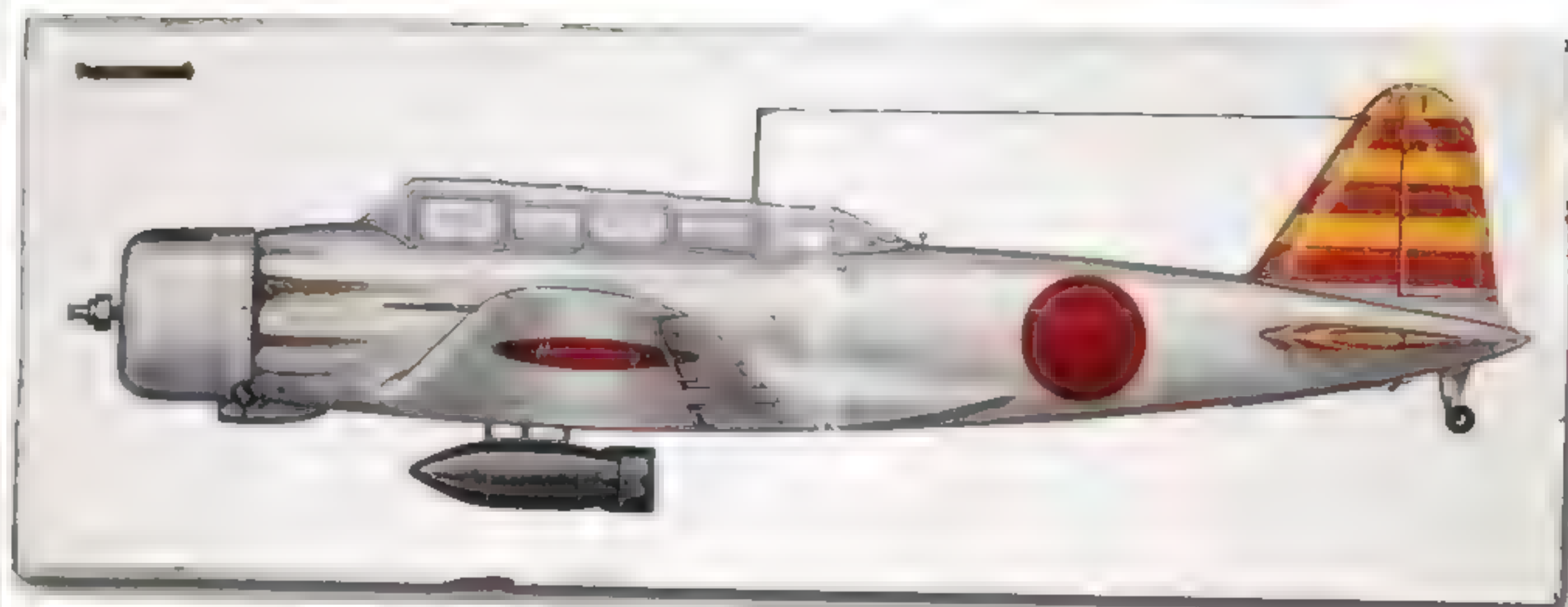
WORDS WILLIAM WELSH

The map of Pearl Harbor mounted in Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto's ship cabin had numerous notes scribbled on it so that the admiral could remind himself of key points in regard to the carrier-based air strike his fleet had been planning at a breakneck speed. Many of the notations were based on analysis contained in thick binders in his desk drawers that contained key climate and topographical data about the Hawaiian Islands, as well as invaluable intelligence information regarding the type and number of US naval and air forces stationed at Oahu.

Throughout the first ten months of 1941, the Japanese Navy's aircraft tacticians had planned down to the smallest detail the mission that was intended to inflict a heavy blow to the US Pacific Fleet, from which they expected it would require months to recover. Although he objected in principal to an attack on the sleeping giant whose industrial might dwarfed the Japanese home islands, the commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet, like his fellow countrymen, was steeped in the bushido ethic by which a Japanese warrior thought first of his duties to family and country and set aside any personal reservations that would interfere with that duty.

Yamamoto was a visionary who had pressed his case for using carrier-based aircraft, not battleships, to inflict severe damage on the enemy's fleet. The attack required a paradigm shift by the Imperial Japanese Navy, whose old-school admirals believed that the decisive battle would be between rival fleet's battleships, and that the primary role for carriers and their aircraft was to provide air cover for the empire's fleets.

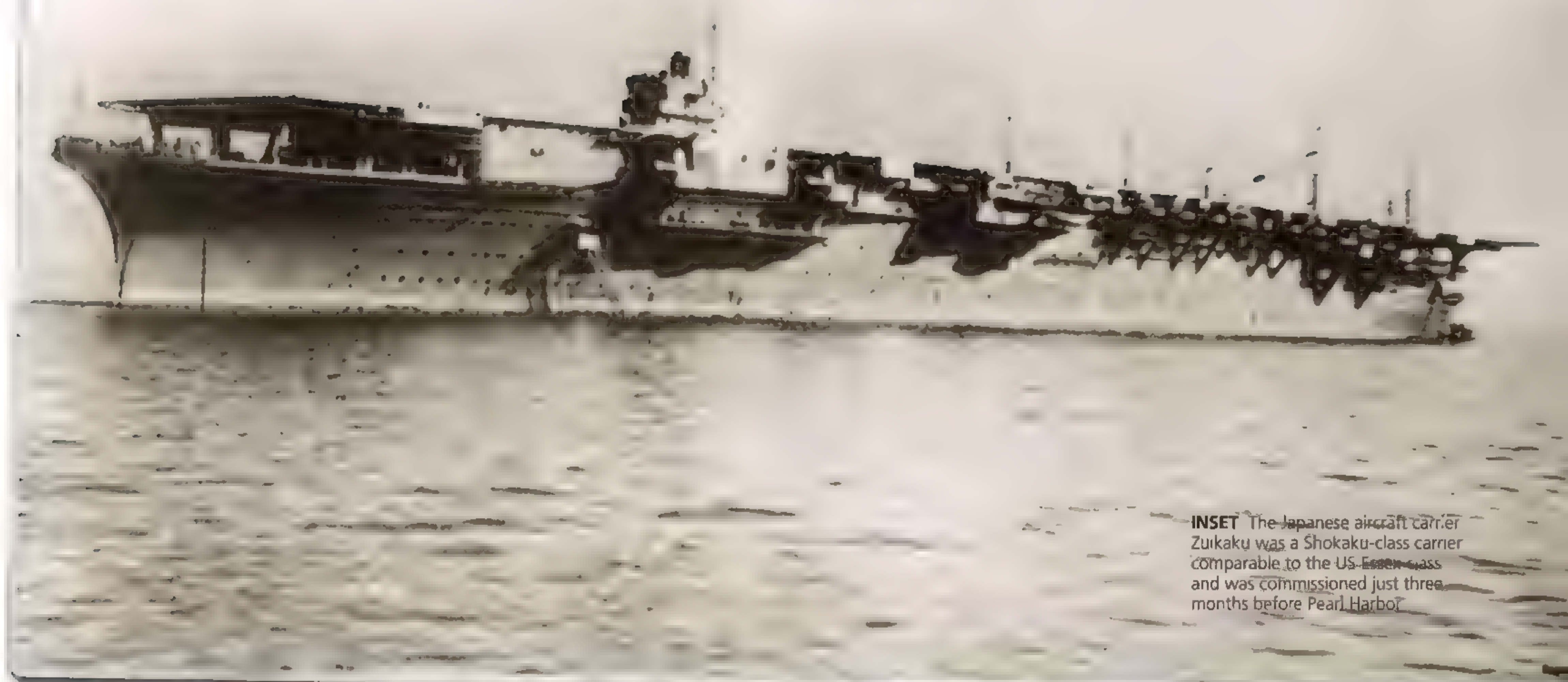
Yamamoto had presented the academic case, argued in favour of it, and when the General Staff of the Imperial



ABOVE The Japanese had to manufacture new torpedoes for the Nakajima B5N Kate torpedo bombers so that they would work properly in the shallow waters of Pearl Harbor

BELOW Emperor Hirohito visits the battleship Nagato in 1939. The Nagato became Yamamoto's flagship during Operation Z, the planning of the naval air strike on Pearl Harbor





INSET The Japanese aircraft carrier Zuikaku was a Shokaku-class carrier comparable to the US Essex class and was commissioned just three months before Pearl Harbor



ABOVE The Japanese navy constructed a mock-up of Battleship Row at Pearl Harbor as part of their elaborate planning for the surprise attack

Japanese Navy continued to resist his strategy, he had threatened to resign. The admirals eventually came around despite their misgivings. The bulk of the Japanese Navy's assets would steam to the Hawaiian Islands, and with it would go the hope that the United States would be so badly wounded by the attack that Japan would buy the time it needed to build a mighty island empire in the southeastern Pacific that would feed its war machine the raw materials it needed to survive.

TARANTO CARRIER STRIKE

The seeds of Yamamoto's idea to carry out a revolutionary new type of attack against the US Pacific Fleet dated to early 1940. They were validated by the stunning attack by 24 British Swordfish biplanes

armed with torpedoes and launched from the carrier HMS Illustrious that sank or heavily damaged three Italian battleships in Taranto harbour on 11 November 1940. In his earliest thoughts of a pre-emptive carrier aircraft strike against the US Pacific Fleet, Yamamoto envisioned waves of Japanese aircraft descending on America's big ships anchored in Pearl Harbor on a Sunday, when few or none would be at sea on manoeuvres.

As the Japanese and American governments spiralled toward war in 1941, Yamamoto put the sharpest minds in the Imperial Japanese Navy to work to plan a carrier-based strike against the US Pacific Fleet. He tasked these individuals with examining from all sides and making recommendations about operations and supply, communications and information, navigation and meteorological information, air and submarine attack. One of the sharpest minds who would help Yamamoto fine-tune the basic concepts of the attack was that of torpedo bomber pilot and naval general staff member Minoru Genda.

Genda and Mitsuo Fuchida, another gifted naval aviation expert, delivered to Yamamoto in late March 1941 a ten-point plan that became the foundation of the strike. The plan called for a surprise, early-morning attack using all three types of bombing – dive, torpedoes and level – against the US carriers and land-based aircraft on Oahu's many airfields. Yamamoto had envisioned making the US battleships the primary target, but Genda argued successfully that if the carriers were at Pearl Harbor, it would be best to focus the attack on them. The Japanese, however, would not find the US aircraft carriers at Pearl Harbor. The Saratoga would be in San Diego when the attack occurred, and the Enterprise and Lexington were delivering aircraft to the Wake and Midway Islands, respectively.

Genda also recommended that Yamamoto establish a special task force that, in addition to carriers and heavily armed surface ships, would also include 20 I-class

submarines and five midget submarines. These plans, however, would require modifications to existing training and equipment, and also would be subject to factors outside the Japanese Navy's control, such as which big ships were in the harbour when they launched their attack.

Yamamoto and Genda agreed that as many carriers as possible would need to participate in the attack to be effective. This jolted the old-school admirals, who were reluctant to risk the carriers in a single attack. But even Yamamoto was concerned about the possibility that the carriers might be lost during the operation to attacks by American carrier-based or land-based aircraft. For that reason, he had considered having the carriers withdraw immediately, requiring the attack pilots to ditch at sea after their strikes, to be picked up by small ships. Genda said this would have a negative influence on morale, so Yamamoto decided to allow the carriers to recover the aircraft.

Yamamoto requested permission from the Naval General Staff for six carriers with which to make the attack. Three carrier divisions – First, Second and Fifth – would participate in the attack. Yamamoto assigned two carriers to each division. To turn this from concept to reality required Yamamoto and his staff to initiate a sweeping reorganisation of the Combined Fleet.

INTEGRATED AIR FLEET

Having thought the whole process through from beginning to end, Yamamoto announced on 10 April the creation of the First Air Fleet. Because of his seniority, Admiral Chuichi Nagumo was selected to lead the First Air Fleet even though he had no experience as a naval airman. Significantly, it was Yamamoto's intention that the fleet function as a single operational unit with the

aim of carrying out perfect aerial choreography on the morning of the attack. This meant that the crews of the ships and aircraft would spend long hours training together in the months ahead in order to ensure that the attack would go off without any hitches. Yamamoto communicated his requirements to Nagumo, and the commander of the First Air Fleet issued orders to his subordinate commanders that all three of the different types of bombers should achieve so-called battle capacity by 1 July. It was a tall order to achieve in such a short time, and not realistic as the training continued deep into the autumn.

Yamamoto and his team of experts had to surmount technical challenges regarding both aircraft and weapons. For example, the Imperial Japanese Navy

ABOVE Japanese citizens in Tokyo in October 1940 celebrate the signing of the Tripartite Pact in 1940. Yamamoto shunned such nationalistic pomp, but his bushido ethic led him to deliver a heavy blow to the US Pacific Fleet



GRUELLING PRACTICE ROUTINE

Spring 1941 brought not only blossoms to the cherry trees of Kagoshima Bay, but hundreds of aircraft that roared over the rooftops of residents to practise bombing runs.

Naval high command chose the location because its topographical configuration closely resembled Pearl Harbor. Long hours of practice over many months meant that the aircrews that would descend from all directions of the compass on Pearl Harbor on the first Sunday in December would move together in a graceful aerial ballet. But their goal would not be an exhibition of fine art; rather, it would be a dance of death and destruction.

For the crews of the Nakajima B5N torpedo bombers that practised in the bay nestled on the southern coast of Kyushu Island, they had to

forgo their usual practice of allowing their torpedoes to drop to 70 feet below the surface before racing toward the hulls of their targets. The shallow waters of Pearl Harbor, with an average depth of 45 feet, required the Imperial Japanese Navy to modify the Type 91 torpedo so that it would not drop so far below the water's surface.

As for the Aichi D3A dive bombers, they rehearsed at a different location on Kyushu. The challenge for the dive bombers was to perfect their dangerous dives. Instead of beginning their dive at 5,000 feet, dropping their bombs and pulling away at 2,000 feet as normal, the navy's experts believed it would be necessary for them to drop their ordnance and pull away at 1,500 feet to inflict the maximum damage on the US big ships.



Even the level bomber crews, who were battle-hardened veterans as a result of flying missions in support of the Japanese invasion of northern China, would be using bombs that were three times as powerful as what they typically used, in order to penetrate the formidable decks of US battleships. Therefore, rather than using 500-pound bombs, they were to use 1,500-pound bombs.

The technical experts told them to drop their sticks from 9,800 feet rather than the traditional level of 12,000 feet to achieve the best results. To perfect their skills using deck-busting bombs, the bomber crews aimed their ordnance at the World War I-era Japanese battleship Settsu, which had been chosen for target practice.

would have to modify its torpedoes so that they worked properly in shallow water. They also would have to make armour-piercing bombs for the high-level bombers that were three times more powerful than the usual load in order to penetrate the deck armour of the US battleships. The navy also would have to overcome challenges presented by the layout of Pearl Harbor. Since the US battleships were alongside the pier in pairs, the torpedo bombers would not be able to attack the ships on the inside, which were protected by the ship docked alongside it. Therefore, the dive and level bombers would be tasked with destroying the ships in the inner berths. Manoeuvres and war games during the late summer and autumn allowed a chance to practise methods that had not been tried before.

INTERNAL DEBATES

When Yamamoto took his finely tuned plans to the Naval General Staff in October, he faced a torrent of criticism and doubts from the senior admirals, who had great difficulty accepting what they believed was a high-risk attack that might result in substantial losses. The naysayers scoffed that Yamamoto would not be able to destroy the majority of the US Pacific Fleet and that it would rebound quickly from the losses. He calmly presented his case and took great pains to persuade those who would have preferred that Japan

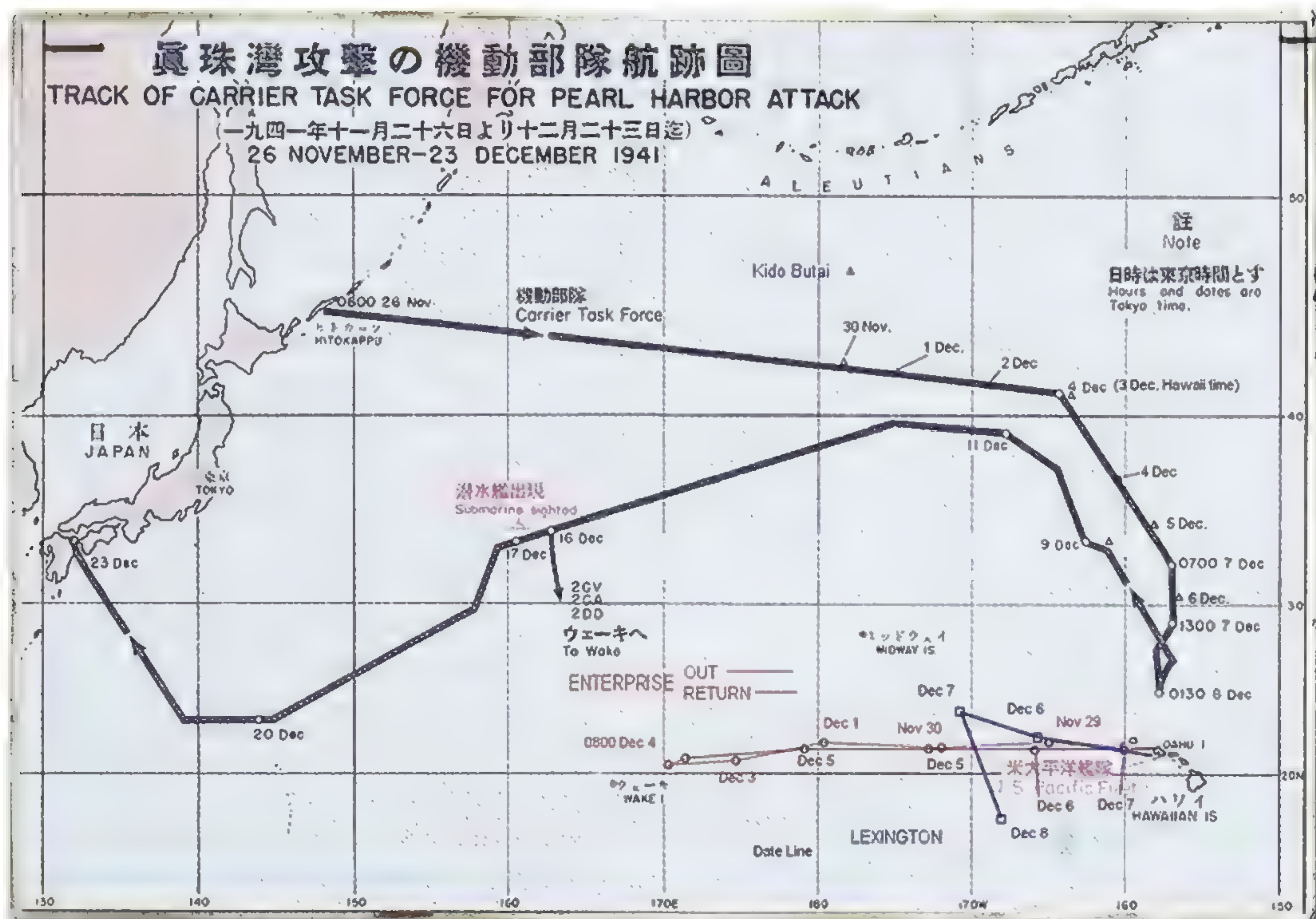
forgo altogether attacking the United States and instead focus entirely on its objectives in Southeast Asia and the South Pacific.

By October it was almost certain that Japan would go to war with the United States as the sanctions would leave Japan's war machine crippled. On 22 November the vessels participating in the attack sailed for Takan Bay, the designated rendezvous location in the Kurile Islands. The Combined Fleet sailed four days later for Hawaii. While the fleet was en route, Chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy General Staff Osami Nagano issued orders on 1 December for Yamamoto to proceed with the attack as planned. The fleet would refuel on 3 December before taking up attack positions north of Hawaii.

After the attack, the Combined Fleet was to fall back toward the defensive perimeter surrounding the South Pacific and take up positions to repulse the inevitable counterattacks by the US Pacific Fleet. As it withdrew from Pearl Harbor, the carriers would launch air strikes on the US garrison at Wake Island, and the fleet's destroyers would shell US positions on Midway Island.

In his 1 December orders to Yamamoto, Nagano said, the First Air Fleet should "launch a resolute surprise attack on and deal a fatal blow to the enemy fleet in the Hawaiian Area." Yamamoto had every intention of ensuring that he fulfilled those orders by inflicting maximum damage on the US Pacific Fleet.

BELOW Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto charted a northern route for the Carrier Task Force to the Hawaiian Islands, on the grounds it would be less likely to be spotted by commercial ships





KEY PLAYER: ISOROKU YAMAMOTO

More than any other individual, Yamamoto was responsible for shaping the pre-emptive strike on Pearl Harbor

WORDS WILLIAM WELSH

Isoroku Yamamoto was born as Takano Isoroku on 4 April 1884 in Nagaoka, in the Niigata Prefecture on the west coast of Honshu. An above average student, Isoroku entered the Japanese Naval Academy in 1900 and, after graduating, went to sea during the Russo-Japanese War.

The following decade, his life began a steep upward trajectory when in 1913 he entered the Japanese Naval Staff College. Afterwards, Isoroku was adopted by the Yamamoto family, and subsequently changed his name to Isoroku Yamamoto. The adoption was a routine occurrence in Japanese culture by families that lacked a male heir.

Before the close of the decade, Yamamoto made the first of two extended visits to the United States. During his first tour from 1919 to 1921 he studied English at Harvard University. He then returned to his homeland to teach briefly at the Naval Staff College before returning to the United States for two years beginning in 1926. The highlight was a stint as Japan's naval attaché.

Yamamoto's time in America had a profound influence on him. While rubbing elbows with US naval officers, he was able to see what most interested them and how they spent their recreational time. He thought that they were rather frivolous as they seemed to spend an inordinate amount of time playing golf and bridge.

But what did impress the young commander was the industrial might of the United States. He realised from his visits that a protracted war with the United States would be difficult, if not impossible, for Japan to win.

When he returned to Japan, his career soared to new heights. He had the good fortune over the next ten years to land a string of assignments, each of which would bring greater responsibility and prestige. Throughout this climb up the naval ladder, Yamamoto would have a chance to apply his sharp and visionary intellect. He began in 1928 by commanding the largest aircraft carrier in the Imperial Japanese Navy's fleet, Akagi. He was promoted to rear admiral the following year and assigned to lead the division of the Naval Air Corps responsible for upgrading and fielding new weapons and equipment.

In the 1930s, he was catapulted into the stratosphere of naval command. He led the First Carrier Division in 1934. Upon receiving a promotion to vice admiral in 1936, he was assigned to serve as the vice minister of the Imperial Japanese Navy. Two years later, he was given command of the First Fleet. These assignments were invaluable on-the-job training. On 30 August 1939,

he was appointed to serve as commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet. The position was the highest command in the Imperial Japanese Navy.

Yamamoto was a realist. He opposed the invasion of northern China in 1937, the subsequent Tripartite Pact of 1940 and – at least at first – conflict with the US, largely because he believed it would be unwinnable. At the same time he was convinced that if it became necessary, Japan must take all of the steps necessary to ensure it would prevail. Indeed, once Japan had invaded Indochina, Yamamoto argued for war with the US, while realising that Japan's only chance of victory lay in a surprise attack.

When sent to attend the London Naval Conference in 1935, Yamamoto had extracted Japan from a series of treaties by which Great Britain and the US restricted how many large ships the Japanese Navy could build in relation to their rival navies. The restrictions, first imposed after World War I, had relegated Japan to a second-rate naval power. In the late 1930s, the old-school Japanese admirals of the Naval General Staff invested heavily in building and launching two of the largest and most heavily gunned battleships ever built, the Yamato and Musashi. These 65,000-ton behemoths dwarfed the 45,000-ton US Iowa-class battleships. In their minds, the admirals envisioned a decisive battle between the big ships of the rival fleets clashing in the western Pacific, perhaps near the Mariana Islands or Marshall Islands.

Yamamoto fought a war of words with the Imperial Navy's top admirals in the year preceding the Pearl Harbor attack in which he sought to persuade them to discard the so-called big ships doctrine in favour of a new strategy centred on aircraft carrier tactics and capabilities. Yamamoto argued in favour of the carrier doctrine. By using his sharp intellect, extensive experience and formidable connections, Yamamoto ultimately was able to get the empire's Naval General Staff to approve his plan for a pre-emptive strike on Pearl Harbor with a formidable armada of naval aircraft that included dive, torpedo





NAME:

Fleet Admiral
Isoroku Yamamoto

YEARS OF SERVICE:

1901-1943

POSITION:

Commander-in-Chief
of the Combined Fleet

SERVICE:

Imperial Japanese Navy

ABOVE Admiral Yamamoto, many years earlier, he had served on the cruiser Nisshin during the Russo-Japanese war, where he lost two fingers on his left hand to Russian naval fire during the Battle of Tsushima

LEFT A dashing Captain Isoroku Yamamoto toured the United States twice in the 1920s, first studying at Harvard and later as naval attaché in Washington

and horizontal bombers, all protected by a large umbrella of fighter aircraft.

Yamamoto remained aboard his flagship in Japan's Inland Sea during the Pearl Harbor attack. From that location, he would issue a coded attack order, as well as final words of inspiration that were read to the fleet. As the mastermind behind the Pearl Harbor attack, Yamamoto exhibited to the world his tactical and strategic genius. The subsequent campaigns he directed did not go as well. In the attack on Midway Island in 1942, he sought to destroy US ships not caught at Pearl Harbor, including the US Navy's aircraft carriers. However, the Battle of Midway was lost, in large part because Yamamoto's plan, which had multiple objectives that stretched his military assets, was too complicated.

After that, the Imperial Japanese Navy was on the defensive in 1943 in the Guadalcanal and Solomon Islands campaigns. Yamamoto committed his units piecemeal, never winning a decisive victory. Even so, convinced that they had to eliminate their most gifted adversary, US Navy officials used intelligence to discern his location in spring 1943. On 18 April, the Mitsubishi G4M bomber in which the admiral was being shuttled on an inspection tour of island bases in the Solomon Islands was shot down by a pack of US P-38 Lightning aircraft.

Yamamoto's body was recovered and cremated. He was given an elaborate state funeral on 5 June 1943. In recognition of his service and achievements, Yamamoto posthumously received the title of marshal. His ashes were divided, with half going to a public cemetery in Tokyo and the other half to his hometown of Nagaoka.

THE ORCHESTRATORS: JAPAN'S NAVAL COMMANDERS

These five Japanese officers played prominent roles in planning the surprise attack at Pearl Harbor

WORDS WILLIAM WELSH

FIRST AIR FLEET COMMANDER VICE ADMIRAL CHUICHI NAGUMO

IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY
1887-1944

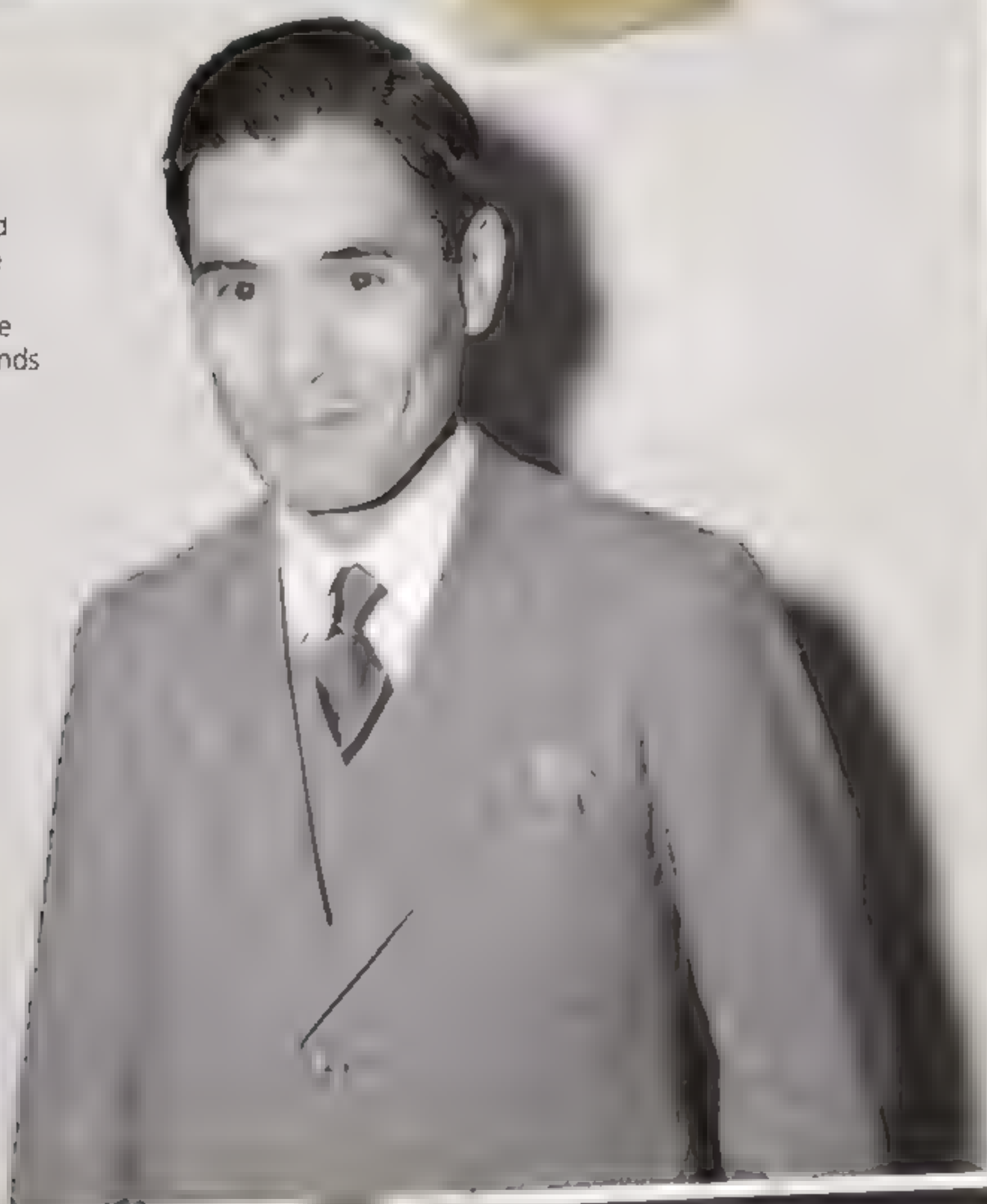
Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo served as commander in chief of the First Air Fleet at the attack on Pearl Harbor, aboard the carrier Akagi. An expert in torpedo warfare and naval gunnery, he was blooded in World War I while serving as a junior officer on Japanese surface warships. He put his faith in battleships more than carriers, and therefore he was an odd choice to oversee the air fleet. Vice Admiral Jisaburo Ozawa was more qualified for the responsibilities given to Nagumo, but Ozawa lacked seniority over his fellow admiral.

Nagumo's colleagues knew him as a cautious naval officer, and one who also had no tangible knowledge or experience of naval aviation. His caution at Pearl Harbor manifested itself when he called off the third attack wave, partly for fear that it would result in unnecessary Japanese casualties. He committed suicide during the Battle of Saipan in July 1944.

BELOW Nagumo knew surface ships better than naval aircraft, but he had seniority over better qualified admirals



RIGHT Minoru Genda, pictured when he worked for the Japanese Embassy in London, was one of the masterminds behind the surprise attack



AIR ADVISOR TO FIRST AIR FLEET COMMANDER MINORU GENDA

IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY
1904-1989

Commander Minoru Genda stayed on the aircraft carrier Akagi throughout the carrier attack on Pearl Harbor to advise First Air Fleet Commander Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo. Genda was a top-notch military pilot. In autumn 1940, he was wrapping up an assignment as assistant naval attaché in London when the British launched a successful carrier-based attack against the Italian fleet at Taranto. He was heavily inspired by the British operation.

Genda and another gifted commander, Mitsuo Fuchida, had written a research paper that set forth a ten-point strategy for attacking the US naval base at Pearl Harbor. Most of the key points the two commanders came up with were incorporated into the final plan of attack. Unlike Nagumo, who was a pessimist, Genda was optimistic about the raid. He believed that the carrier-based Nakajima B5N (Kate) torpedo bombers would be the workhorse of the operation. Genda insisted that several strikes would be necessary for the attack to succeed as planned.



ABOVE Commander Mitsuo Fuchida led the air strike against the US naval base at Pearl Harbor and participated in the first wave

COMMANDER MITSUO FUCHIDA

IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY
1902-1976

Commander Mitsuo Fuchida was considered the leading expert in the Imperial Japanese Navy in torpedo bombing. Because of Genda's recommendation on his behalf, Fuchida was chosen by the navy to lead the entire air strike against Pearl Harbor. He worked closely with Genda to develop the specific details of the air attack on Pearl Harbor.

Fuchida gave the final briefing to the pilots and air crews aboard the carrier Akagi on the morning of the attack. He also directed the 183 aircraft of the first wave while flying aboard a Nakajima B5N (Kate) torpedo bomber piloted by Lieutenant Mitsuo Matazaki. He gave the order for the aircraft in the first wave to begin attacking at 7:49am.

Fuchida had 3,000 hours of flight experience and was regarded as a torpedo bomber ace. He possessed a keen understanding of the strategy and tactics of naval aviation. Fuchida was respected by those who served under him for his courage in battle.

COMMANDER SHIGEKAZU SHIMAZAKI

IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY
1908-1945

Commander Shigekazu Shimazaki, who was stationed aboard the carrier Zuikaku, led the 167 aircraft of the second wave of Japanese carrier-based aircraft while piloting a Nakajima B5N (Kate) torpedo bomber. He was a large man with a sharp mind, steel nerves and an energetic personality.

At the outset of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, he served at a land air base in Shanghai where he flew bombing missions. Shimazaki was a versatile, highly experienced pilot who was considered an expert on all three methods of bombing (dive, horizontal and torpedo) used during the attack on Pearl Harbor.

For leading a successful attack, the Imperial Japanese Navy rewarded both Fuchida and Shimazaki with a personal visit with Emperor Hirohito at the Tokyo Imperial Palace on 25 December. While serving with the navy's 3rd Air Fleet, Shimazaki was killed in action near Taiwan on 9 January 1945.



ABOVE Commander Shigekazu Shimazaki, who led the second wave of aircraft at Pearl Harbor, is pictured aboard the carrier Zuikaku, from which he launched into battle



LEFT Rear Admiral Takijiro Onishi helped convince the Imperial Japanese Navy's General Staff of the soundness of Yamamoto's plan for a pre-emptive strike against Pearl Harbor using carrier-based aircraft

REAR ADMIRAL TAKIJIRO ONISHI

IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY
1891-1945

Rear Admiral Takijiro Onishi was a veteran commander of naval aircraft whom Admiral Yamamoto turned to for support in the planning of the Pearl Harbor strike. Following assignments on the carriers Hosho and Kaga, Onishi was appointed in 1939 to serve as chief of staff for the 11th Air Fleet. In winter 1940, Yamamoto explained to Onishi his plan for a pre-emptive strike on Pearl Harbor using carrier-based aircraft. Afterwards, Onishi used his connections with the Naval General Staff to persuade its high-ranking admirals to approve Yamamoto's plan.

Onishi also wrote a supportive report for the strike concept. While Yamamoto focused on preparing the Combined Fleet in sea trials, Onishi worked behind the scenes to convince admirals of the Naval General Staff of the soundness of the plan. Onishi directed the 11th Air Fleet, which had massed at Taiwan, in its near-simultaneous attack against the Philippines. He committed suicide on 16 August 1945, following the unconditional surrender of Japan.



ICONIC MOMENT

A spectacular image captures the moment when a catastrophic explosion rocks the US Navy destroyer USS Shaw, as smoke billows out across Pearl Harbor from the adjacent Hickam Field.







THE AMERICAN PREPARATION

For the United States, stern diplomacy, military manoeuvres and warnings unheeded marked the tragic approach to Pearl Harbor and World War II

WORDS MICHAEL HASKEW

In the mid-1850s, Commodore Matthew C Perry twice sailed United States Navy warships into Tokyo Bay, compelling feudal Japan, previously closed to virtually all Western influence, to establish diplomatic relations.

In the years that followed, the ruling shogunate fell away and Japan began to modernise, embracing commerce, industry and a burgeoning pre-eminent role among Asian nations. Some historians point to Perry's mission as the initial step along the path to Pearl Harbor and direct armed conflict with Imperial Japan nearly a century later.

Indeed, the United States watched warily as Japanese influence spread across the Far East. In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, the modern Japanese military stunned the world with its stinging defeat of Tsarist Russia, the first time in history an Asian nation had prevailed against a traditional European power. By 1910, Japan had annexed neighbouring Korea, and after World War I the island nation ruled far-flung former German colonies in the Pacific under a League of Nations mandate.

Through it all, the United States remained a major stakeholder in the Pacific, with a paternalistic perspective on the vast but backward and long-exploited colossus of China. As it became apparent that Japanese designs on

expansion and perhaps even hegemony in the Far East were real, the United States and Great Britain negotiated with Japan to sign the Washington Naval Treaty of 1923, restricting naval tonnage and limiting the signatories to a corresponding 5:5:3 ratio in warships. Agreeing to the treaty in name only, Japan continued to secretly build its naval strength, eventually repudiating the treaty altogether in June 1936.

Meanwhile, a wave of imperialistic and militaristic fervour swept Japan, and though still subservient to the 'God-man' Emperor Hirohito, the military gained tremendous influence. By 1931, the Empire's troops were at war with China, occupying great swathes of territory on the Asian continent. In 1937, Japanese bombers sank the US Navy gunboat Panay, clearly identifiable as American, on the Yangtze River in China. Asserting that the incident had been a mistake, the Japanese offered a disingenuous apology and paid reparations, but the relationship between the adversarial nations continued to sour.

In Washington DC, the administration of President Franklin D Roosevelt surveyed unfolding events in the Far East with increasing concern. In response to what the Americans considered to be naked aggression, in May 1940 Roosevelt ordered the US Pacific Fleet to relocate

BELOW Commodore Matthew C Perry led nine US Navy ships into Tokyo Bay in 1854, and Japan quickly began to Westernise





LEFT Japanese bombers sank the gunboat USS Panay on China's Yangtze River in 1937, deepening the rift between the US and Japan

from its permanent anchorage at San Diego, California, to Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu in the Territory of Hawaii. The provocative move brought the power of the US Navy more than 2,000 miles closer to Japan. The message was clear. The United States would not sit idly by while its Pacific rival continued an unbridled policy of expansion under the euphemistically named program of the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere', a twisted political posture that was sold to the world as 'Asia for Asians', but in fact meant 'Asia for the Japanese'.

THE US GIRDS FOR WAR

In further preparation for a war that the United States might be compelled to fight, potentially involving both Pacific and Atlantic theatres of operations, on 19 July Congress passed the Two-Ocean Naval Expansion Act, authorising the construction of 18 fleet aircraft carriers, 11 new battleships, six battle cruisers, 27 cruisers, 115 destroyers, and 43 submarines. At the time, the US was already building 130 more naval vessels to augment an existing force of 358 surface and submarine assets.

After the fall of France in the spring of 1940, Japanese troops occupied northern Indochina without firing a shot. The Roosevelt administration countered with series of crippling economic sanctions, ominously intended to curb Japanese ambitions. In the summer, the US enacted an embargo of scrap iron and aviation fuel. When Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Nazi Germany and



INSET In 1936 Lady Eleanor christened the USS London

*To the members of the Washington Press of
the U.S.S. London with every wish for
long & successful career for our ship -
Thasos Powell*

Fascist Italy in September 1940, American assumptions of Japanese malevolence were confirmed. Following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, Japanese troops occupied the remainder of Indochina.

Diplomacy had already taken a decidedly frosty turn, and Roosevelt froze Japanese assets in the United States while also issuing a new round of sanctions that forbade the export of such commodities as steel, bronze, copper, machinery and precious oil to Japan. In effect, the spigot that supplied more than 80 per cent of the resource-lacking island nation's oil was abruptly turned off.

The economic stroke was soon followed with a no-nonsense demand from the US government that Japan immediately withdraw its forces from Indochina. For the militarist government of Prime Minister Hideki Tojo, however, there was no turning back. Only one option was left to Japan, and planning for a pre-emptive blow against the United States gained momentum.

On 17 November 1941, Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, Japan's Ambassador to the United States, and special envoy Saburo Kuruusu brought demands from their government that were, they said, required to maintain the tenuous peace in the Pacific. The United States must recognise the puppet state of Manchukuo, carved from China by the Japanese Army, recognise the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, lift the economic sanctions and embargoes previously imposed, and terminate all military and civilian aid to China while pledging not to interfere with Japanese operations there. The final shocking demand required that the United States allow Japan a free hand to act against the Dutch East Indies through diplomatic or military means – or both – to obtain the raw materials needed for the country's war machine.

Nine days later, as their Imperial Navy's Pearl Harbor strike force set sail from the home waters of Hittokapu Bay toward Hawaii, the Japanese received the terse American response. Japan was required to exit the Tripartite Pact, agree to sign a non-aggression treaty with other Asian nations, withdraw all armed forces from China and Indochina, guarantee the territorial integrity of China and the government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, and lastly agree to abide by international law in its future diplomatic dealings.

COUNTDOWN TO CATASTROPHE

Observers on both sides realised that war was imminent. American intelligence had noticed a sharp increase in Japanese radio traffic, a sure sign that something military was afoot. But where, and when? No one knew for certain, but the most likely targets were in the Far East, possibly the Philippines or Wake Island, the Dutch East Indies or Singapore. Pearl Harbor was unlikely.

On 30 November, Nomura and Kuruusu received a coded message that read 'East Wind, Rain', instructing them to destroy all classified documents they possessed. While neither of the Japanese diplomats realised



ABOVE Japanese diplomat Saburo Kuruusu, later special envoy to the US, signs the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy in September 1940

WAR WARNINGS WASTED

Through the lens of history, evidence may lead to the conclusion that ample warnings of Japanese intent to strike Pearl Harbor were offered and either discounted as fantasy or ignored. Revisionist historians have even postulated that President Franklin D Roosevelt knew of Japanese intentions and allowed the attack to occur to bring the US into World War II.

Other warnings may indeed have a basis in fact, possibly embellished through the years with unsubstantiated conclusions, but nevertheless fascinating. For example, on 27 January 1941, Dr Ricardo Schreiber, Peruvian ambassador to Japan, was said to have told a secretary at the American Embassy in Tokyo that the Japanese were planning to attack Pearl Harbor.

Also in January 1941, a full ten months prior to the attack, a letter from Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox to Secretary of War Henry L Stimson referenced numerous concerns with Pearl Harbor's defence. "If war eventuates with Japan," Knox wrote, "it is believed easily possible that hostilities would be initiated by a surprise attack upon the fleet or the naval base at Pearl Harbor... The dangers envisaged in their order of importance and probability are considered to be: (1) Air bombing attack (2) Air torpedo plane attack (3) Sabotage (4) Submarine attack (5) Mining (6) Bombardment by gunfire."

Although Knox may have been in the minority when considering Pearl Harbor a primary target, the letter leaves no doubt that the highest echelons of American



The double agent Dusko Popov, code-named 'Tricycle', delivered a Pearl Harbor warning that was immediately discounted by the FBI

military command held more than a passing concern about the prospect

Another of the many supposed warnings came from an unlikely source, a Serbian-born double agent named Dusko Popov. Code-named 'Tricycle', Popov worked for both the German Abwehr and Britain's MI6. In early 1941, the Germans sent Tricycle to America on an information-gathering mission. Among the intelligence requested were details of the defences at Pearl Harbor. Apparently, the Japanese had asked their German allies for assistance in their planning.

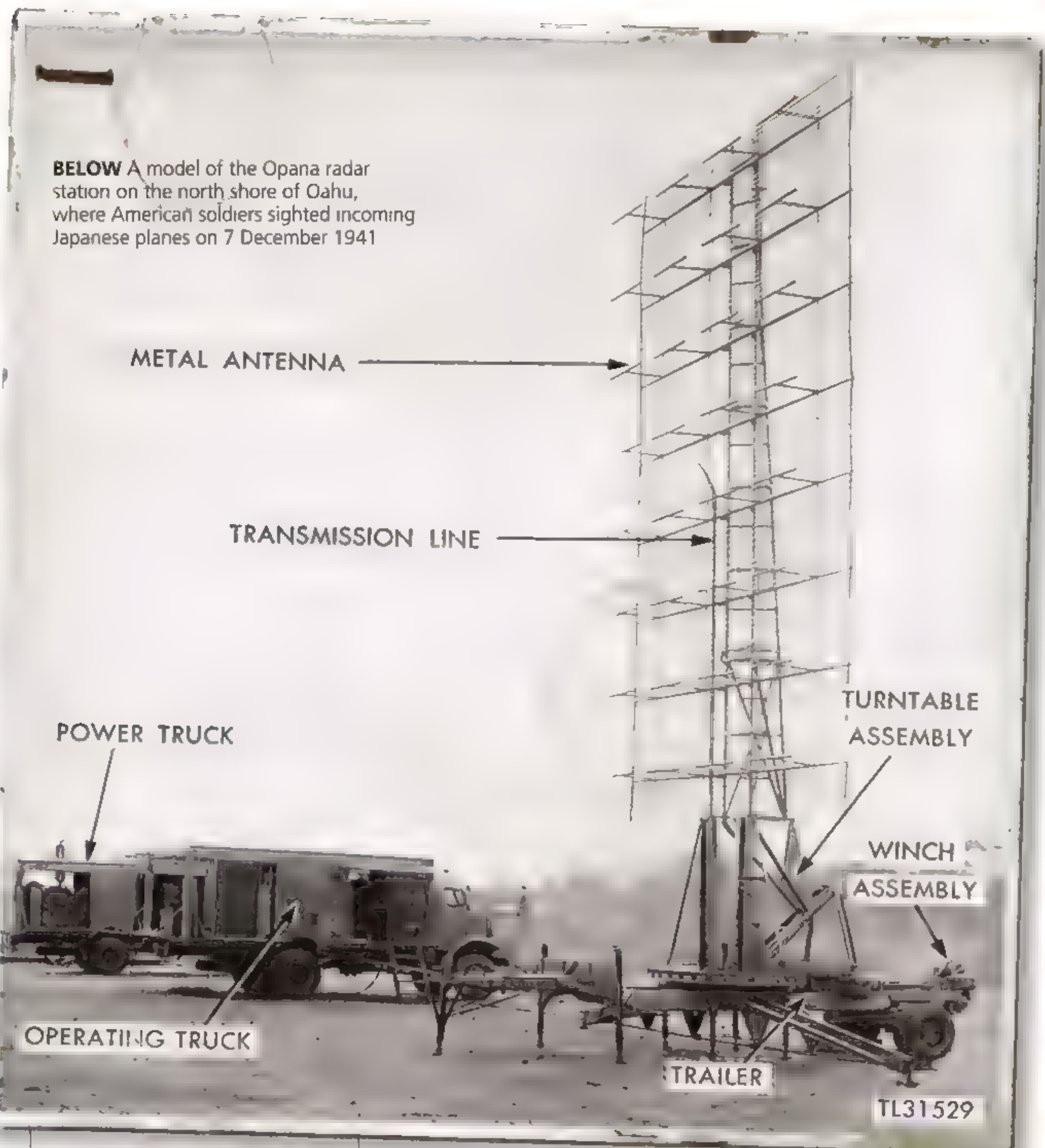
MI6 had previously informed FBI Director J Edgar Hoover that Tricycle would come calling. When the agent presented his information to Hoover in August 1941, it was rejected out of hand. The director's distrust of Tricycle silenced the alarm before it even sounded.

their country had decided to go to war, they dutifully requested a meeting with Secretary of State Cordell Hull, their purpose to formally reject the American demands. Meanwhile, a personal overture for peace from President Roosevelt to Hirohito had gone unanswered. Unwitting pawns in their government's war plan, Kurusu and Nomura went to Hull's office on the afternoon of 7 December 1941. Japanese bombs were already falling when they arrived.

At Pearl Harbor, the threat of sabotage was uppermost in the mind of Lieutenant General Walter Short, commander of military installations that stretched across the island of Oahu. Short ordered additional patrols, sentries stationed at likely locations for infiltrators, and had aircraft parked wing tip to wing tip so they could be easily guarded. Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, commander of the US Pacific Fleet, had assumed his job just earlier in the year. Normal naval patrols were conducted outside the mouth of the harbour. Torpedo nets were stretched across the entrance, and in light of the available information, Kimmel considered his defensive preparations at least adequate.

At 3.45 on the morning of 7 December, as Japanese planes revved their engines and took off from the decks of six Imperial Navy aircraft carriers, the destroyer USS Ward, on routine patrol outside the harbour, received a message from the minesweeper Condor that a submarine had been spotted. Nothing was confirmed. About three hours later, the cargo ship Antares was towing a barge into Pearl Harbor, and lookouts reported a periscope. This time the Ward's crew sprang to general quarters. A four-inch shell put a hole squarely through the conning tower of a Japanese midget submarine, and an oil slick confirmed the kill.

Lieutenant Commander William Outerbridge, the Ward's skipper, flashed a message to the Headquarters, Fourteenth Naval District: "We have attacked, fired upon,



BELOW An aerial view of Pearl Harbor, captured in October 1941, reveals Ford Is and at centre and naval vessels clustered in the anchorage

and dropped depth charges on a submarine operating in defensive sea areas." The message took 23 minutes to decode and was not distributed in time to alert American forces further.

Just 15 minutes after the Ward's encounter, two soldiers were operating a new radar apparatus at Opana above Kahuku Point on Oahu's north shore. Instead of shutting down at their designated time of 7am, the soldiers decided to practise a bit longer. Soon, a mass of blips, larger than anything the two had ever seen, appeared on the screen. The contact was reported to the officer of the day at nearby Fort Shafter. The young lieutenant was aware of a flight of B-17 bombers that would be arriving that morning from the mainland and so told the operators to disregard the sighting.

Minutes later, a messenger was pedalling a bicycle towards one of Pearl Harbor's gates. He carried a war warning from General George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff in Washington, to Kimmel and Short. Atmospheric interference had temporarily shut down military channels, and the civilian RCA line had been used to transmit the warning. As the clock ticked toward 8am Honolulu time, the last minutes of peace ebbed away.

Marshall's message was too late.

Japanese bombers, torpedo planes and fighters turned to make their runs toward sleepy Sunday morning targets. The United States was suddenly and violently at war.



KEY PLAYER: HUSBAND E KIMMEL

The commander of the Pacific Fleet bore the brunt of the criticism following the disaster at Pearl Harbor

WORDS MICHAEL HASKEW

When President Franklin D Roosevelt ordered the US Pacific Fleet from its permanent base at San Diego, California, to a forward location at Pearl Harbor in the Territory of Hawaii in the spring of 1940, Admiral James O Richardson, Commander-in-Chief of the US Fleet, opposed the transfer.

Richardson reasoned that the provocative move would only worsen diplomatic relations between the US and Japan. Perhaps of even greater concern, Richardson strongly believed that the relocation 2,000 miles closer to the likely enemy invited a pre-emptive strike. The Pacific Fleet, he said, was unnecessarily exposed.

Within the year, the highest echelons of the US Navy command structure were reorganised, and Richardson found himself the 'odd man out'. His opposition to the president's order had no doubt contributed to the loss of his job.

In February 1941, Admiral Husband E Kimmel assumed command of the Pacific Fleet. A graduate of the US Naval Academy at Annapolis, Kimmel was a veteran of 40 years' service, both in command of warships at sea and in several staff positions within the Department of the Navy. In assessing the situation at Pearl Harbor, he was aware of considerable challenges. Keeping his ships supplied required the extension of a lengthy logistical lifeline from the West Coast of the US. Any navy vessels in need of extensive repair or overhaul were required to make the arduous voyage back to port facilities on the mainland as well.

Not the least of Kimmel's worries was the need for appropriate security measures. The confines of Pearl Harbor required that some smaller ships be clustered together, and it was apparent that a surprise attack would find a concentration of tempting targets.

Just days into his tenure, Kimmel expressed concerns to Admiral Harold R Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, in Washington DC. "I feel that a surprise attack (submarine, air or combined) on Pearl Harbor is a possibility," he wrote, "and we are taking immediate practical steps to minimise the damage inflicted and to ensure that the attacking force will pay."

Nevertheless, the Roberts Commission, convened shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, ultimately concluded that Kimmel and his army counterpart, Lieutenant General Walter Short, were guilty of dereliction of duty, failing to ensure the security of the fleet and the military installations on the island of Oahu as fully as possible. Kimmel had issued a fleet order on 14 October 1941, noting that a Japanese attack on Pearl

Harbor was a genuine possibility. He had also received a war warning from Admiral Stark on 27 November, indicating that a defensive deployment of the fleet should begin. Despite this warning, however, Kimmel had declined to implement that directive.

Kimmel shared Short's concern that the primary threat to the military in Hawaii was sabotage, and so interpreted orders and other communications accordingly. Questions also surrounded the lack of long-range reconnaissance patrols during the weeks prior to the attack, and the absence of anti-torpedo nets to protect the Pacific Fleet's battleships.

Although Kimmel's intelligence support was capable of intercepting Japanese naval communications, decrypting efforts had not progressed in December 1941 to the point where the messages could be read and interpreted. Still, the stream of traffic between ships of the Imperial Japanese Navy helped the Americans estimate their locations and movements.

However, after departing home waters in late November, the Japanese strike force maintained strict radio silence. The abrupt lack of communication was,

"FROM HIS OFFICE WINDOW IN PEARL HARBOR, KIMMEL SAW JAPANESE PLANES SOW DEATH AND DESTRUCTION"



ABOVE Britain's Lord Louis Mountbatten (centre) visits General Walter Short (left) and Admiral Husband Kimmel (right) in Hawaii in the summer of 1941

RIGHT Husband E Kimmel wears the two stars of a rear admiral prior to assuming command of the US Pacific Fleet

**NAME:**

Admiral Husband E Kimmel

YEARS OF SERVICE:

1901-1942

POSITION:Commander,
US Pacific Fleet**SERVICE:**

US Navy

in itself, worrisome. No one at Pearl Harbor knew the approximate whereabouts of the Japanese Navy's aircraft carriers and battleships.

On 2 December, Kimmel queried his intelligence officer, Commander Edwin T Layton: "Do you mean to say, they could be rounding Diamond Head and you wouldn't know it?"

Layton responded, "I hope they would have been spotted by now."

Indeed, in his own defence, Kimmel cited a lack of concrete intelligence information as one of the primary reasons for the state of unpreparedness on 7 December 1941. Cryptanalysts in Washington DC had made better progress against the Japanese diplomatic code, which they designated as 'Purple', and were passing along valuable information related to Japanese tactics at the negotiating table. In fact, they had deciphered a 14-part message from Tokyo to its emissaries in the US and were aware of Japanese intent to break off negotiations before envoys Kichisaburo Nomura and Saburo Kurusu arrived at Secretary of State Cordell Hull's office to deliver official notification.

Dubbed 'MAGIC', these high-level intercepts were deliberately kept from Kimmel, Short and other officers for fear that the code-breaking success might be compromised. Much of the communication received from Washington was ambiguous at best, and some historians have supported Kimmel's contention that he was left without critical information as the situation clearly escalated toward war.

From his office window in the grounds of Pearl Harbor's submarine base, Kimmel saw Japanese planes sow death and destruction that Sunday morning. Commander Layton remembered, "As he watched the disaster across the harbour unfold with terrible fury, a spent .50-calibre machine-gun bullet crashed through the glass. It brushed the admiral before it clanged to the floor. It cut his white jacket and raised a welt on his chest. 'It would have been merciful had it killed me,' Kimmel murmured..."

Ten days after the surprise Japanese attack, Kimmel was relieved of command and reduced in rank from four-star admiral to two-star rear admiral. He retired from the navy on 28 February 1942, and finally received a public hearing during a Congressional inquiry in 1945. He was never formally court-martialed, and endeavoured to clear his name until his death in 1968 at the age of 86.

Members of Admiral Kimmel's family took up the struggle in later years, but efforts to restore his full rank were unsuccessful, denied by three presidents. In the spring of 1999, the US Senate passed a non-binding resolution absolving both Kimmel and General Short of blame. The vote was a narrow 52-47. To date, no further action has been taken.

The debate regarding Admiral Kimmel's role in the Pearl Harbor debacle and his responsibility for it continues. The examination, study and conjecture surrounding the 'date which will live in infamy' are not likely to diminish with the passage of time.



DEFENDERS OF PEARL HARBOR

World leaders, senior commanders and common men left their marks in the unfolding Pearl Harbor saga

WORDS MICHAEL HASKEW

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
1882-1945

The 32nd President of the United States, Franklin D Roosevelt had long been wary of Japanese expansion in the Pacific. He opted to counter aggression with the relocation of the Pacific Fleet from San Diego, California, to Pearl Harbor in 1940, while imposing stringent economic sanctions against Japan.

Roosevelt expected the Japanese to commit an overt act of war, but despite revisionist assertions, there is no concrete evidence that he was aware that Pearl Harbor was the intended target. On the

afternoon of 7 December 1941, Roosevelt responded decisively to news that military installations on Oahu had been shattered without warning. His request for a declaration of war, delivered before a joint session of Congress the following day, was a stirring call to arms.

The only president elected to four terms in office, Roosevelt led the US during World War II until his death on 12 April 1945, just months before the final Allied victory.



LIEUTENANT GENERAL WALTER C SHORT

COMMANDER, HAWAIIAN ARMY DEPARTMENT
1889-1949

Appointed to command the Hawaiian Department on 8 February 1941, Short was responsible for the Army's defences in the area during the months preceding the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Short and his naval counterpart, Admiral Husband E Kimmel, were held responsible for American unpreparedness on 7 December 1941. In Short's case, the Roberts Commission, investigating the circumstances surrounding the disaster, concluded that defences against air attack were inadequate. Short was found guilty of dereliction of duty, relieved of command on 17 December and forced into retirement on 28 February 1942.

Short maintained that his defensive preparations had been in compliance with orders he had received, emphasising the risk of

sabotage over that of air attack. In 1946, he testified before Congress, noting that orders received on 27 November 1941, only ten days prior to the attack, mentioned nothing of preparations for defending against an air raid and that long-range reconnaissance was the responsibility of the Navy. Short requested but was never granted a full court-martial.

Until the Pearl Harbor debacle ended his career, Short had compiled an excellent service record. A native of Fillmore, Illinois, he was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant in the US Army in 1902. He served with distinction in the Philippines and during World War I, receiving rare peacetime promotions during the interwar years. He died in 1949. Fifty years later, on 25 May 1999, the US Senate narrowly passed a resolution that cleared both Short and Kimmel.



Walter C Short, commander of the US Army's Hawaiian Department, was disgraced after the Pearl Harbor attack.



REAR ADMIRAL ISAAC C KIDD

**COMMANDER, BATTLESHIP DIVISION ONE
1884-1941**

As Japanese bombers roared to the attack on 7 December 1941, Rear Admiral Isaac C Kidd, commander of the US Pacific Fleet's Battleship Division One, stood calmly on the signal bridge of the battleship USS Arizona, dispensing orders until a catastrophic explosion killed him instantly – along with more than a thousand other personnel.

Kidd was the highest-ranking naval officer killed during the attack on Pearl Harbor. His body was never found; however, Navy divers surveying the Arizona's wreckage later located his US Naval Academy ring from the class of 1906, fused by the searing heat to one of the battleship's steel bulkheads.

Kidd received a posthumous Medal of Honor, and the citation reads in part: "...He immediately went to the bridge and... courageously discharged his duties as Senior Officer Present Afloat until the USS Arizona, his Flagship, blew up from magazine explosions and a direct bomb hit on the bridge, which resulted in the loss of his life."

LIEUTENANT KERMIT TYLER

**DUTY OFFICER, FORT SHAFTER
1913-2010**

Sunday 7 December 1941 was the second day on the job for Lieutenant Kermit Tyler, duty officer at Fort Shafter on the island of Oahu. When a phone call from a pair of excited soldiers manning a new radar station at Opana Point came in just after 7am, the officer logically assumed the large blip on their screen was a flight of Boeing B-17 bombers that was due to arrive from the US mainland that morning. "I knew the equipment

was pretty new," Tyler later told a newspaper. "In fact, the guy who was on the scope, who first detected the planes, it was the first time he'd ever sat at the scope... Common sense said, 'Well, these are the B-17s.' So I told them, 'Don't worry about it.'"

A board of inquiry cleared Tyler of any culpability. He retired from the US Air Force 20 years later as a lieutenant colonel and died in 2010.



COOK 3RD CLASS DORIS MILLER

**SAILOR, BATTLESHIP WEST VIRGINIA
1919-1943**

When the first Japanese torpedoes slammed into the battleship USS West Virginia in Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, Cook 3rd Class Doris Miller was picking up laundry. He jumped to action, carrying injured sailors from harm's way and locating the West Virginia's skipper, Captain Mervyn Bennion, grievously wounded by shrapnel from a bomb blast.

A 22-year-old native of Waco, Texas, Miller tried to convince the wounded officer to seek safety. Bennion refused evacuation, holding

his wound closed with one hand while issuing orders until he bled to death. He received a posthumous Medal of Honor.

Meanwhile, Miller sprinted to a nearby .50-calibre machine gun, firing at Japanese planes until he ran out of ammunition. For his heroism, Miller became the first black sailor to receive the Navy Cross. He was killed two years later, when a Japanese submarine torpedoed the escort carrier Liscome Bay off the Gilbert Islands in November 1943.



ABOVE Cook 3rd Class Doris Miller earned the Navy Cross aboard the battleship West Virginia during desperate moments at Pearl Harbor

THE ATTACK COMMENCES

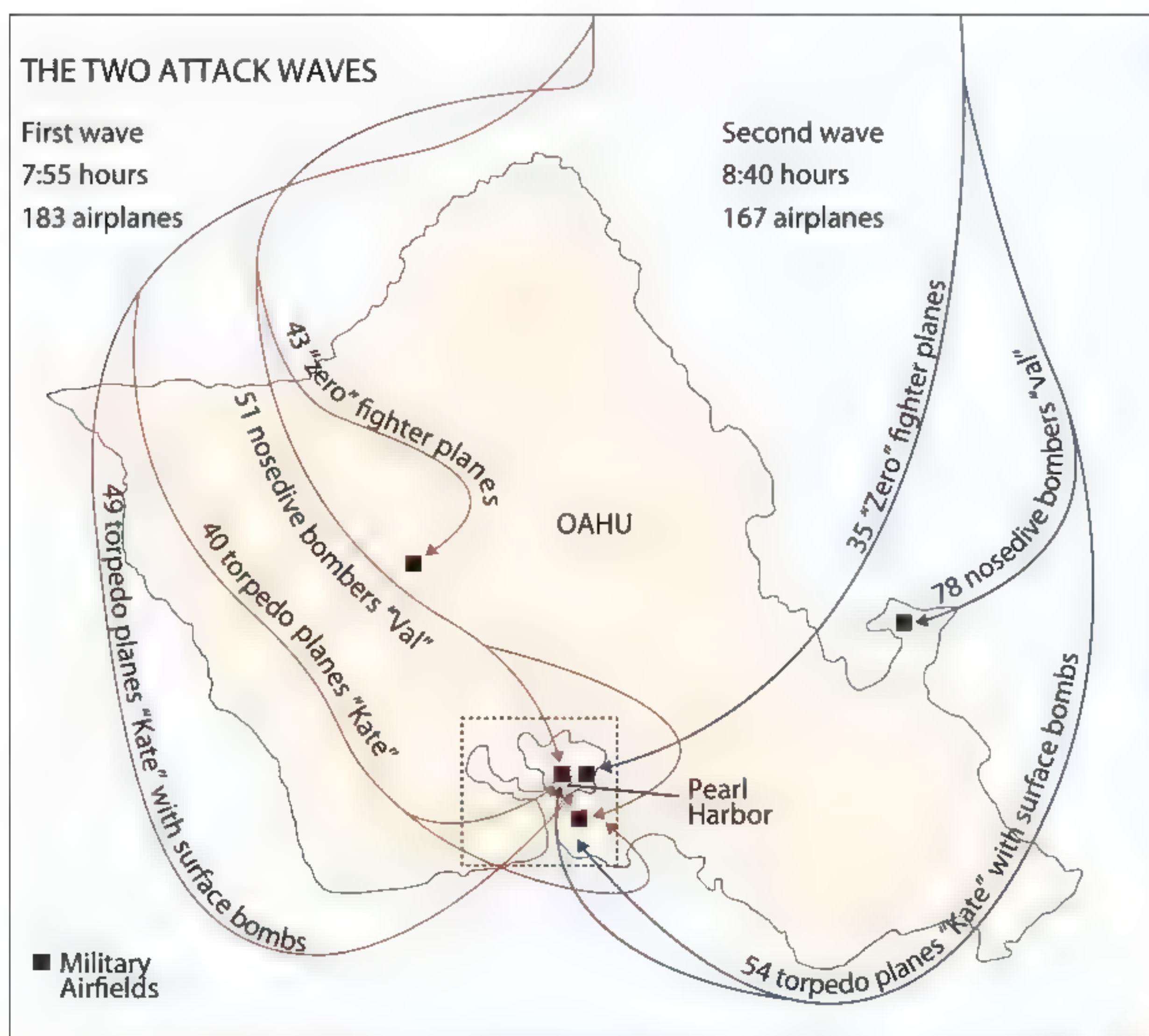
After extensive planning, Japan was ready to unleash its deadly first strike

Months of preparation, an unprecedented level of research, investigation and military planning – and it all came down to this. A few hours on a warm December morning.

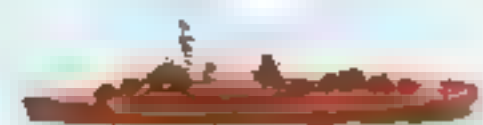
Practice drills, simulations and weeks upon weeks of painstaking training were one thing, but Admiral Yamamoto and the other commanders of the Japanese naval forces knew that their carefully laid plans would be for naught if they weren't executed to perfection. They would have the element of surprise, but they knew they could take nothing for granted.

As Japan's fleet of carriers took up their final positions following days of covert navigation towards their destination north of Oahu, the American naval base at Pearl Harbor began to ready itself for a day that should have been like any other. Warning signs had gone ignored and intelligence, whether through incompetence or by design, had not been disseminated to those in command. For more than 2,400 people serving at Pearl Harbor, the morning of 7 December 1941 would be their last.

Over the coming pages we'll cover in detail the specifics of the two waves of the Japanese attack on the naval base in Oahu, outlining the minute-to-minute carnage unleashed by the aggressors, along with the desperate, daring, and all-too-often futile attempts at American retaliation. Read on to revisit the frenetic two hours of content that ignited the war in the Pacific.



Enlarged area



Helm

NAVY YARD

Shaw

Downes

Cassin

Pennsylvania

Hickam airfield

Airplanes from Hickam and other airfields were kept outside of the hangars. This caused 188 to be destroyed.

HUMAN LOSSES

U.S.A.

2,402

Military: 2,345

Civilians: 57

JAPAN

65

Mitsubishi A6M "Zero"

Maximum speed: 533 km/h

Maximum altitude: 10,000 m

Autonomy: 3,100 km



RIGHT The sky above Pearl Harbor is transformed into a firestorm as Japanese bombers swoop in to deposit their payloads



REFERENCES

- Sunken ■ Slight damage
- Serious damage ■ No damage

- Battleship
- Seaplane
- Destroyer
- Cruise

PEARL CITY



FORD ISLAND

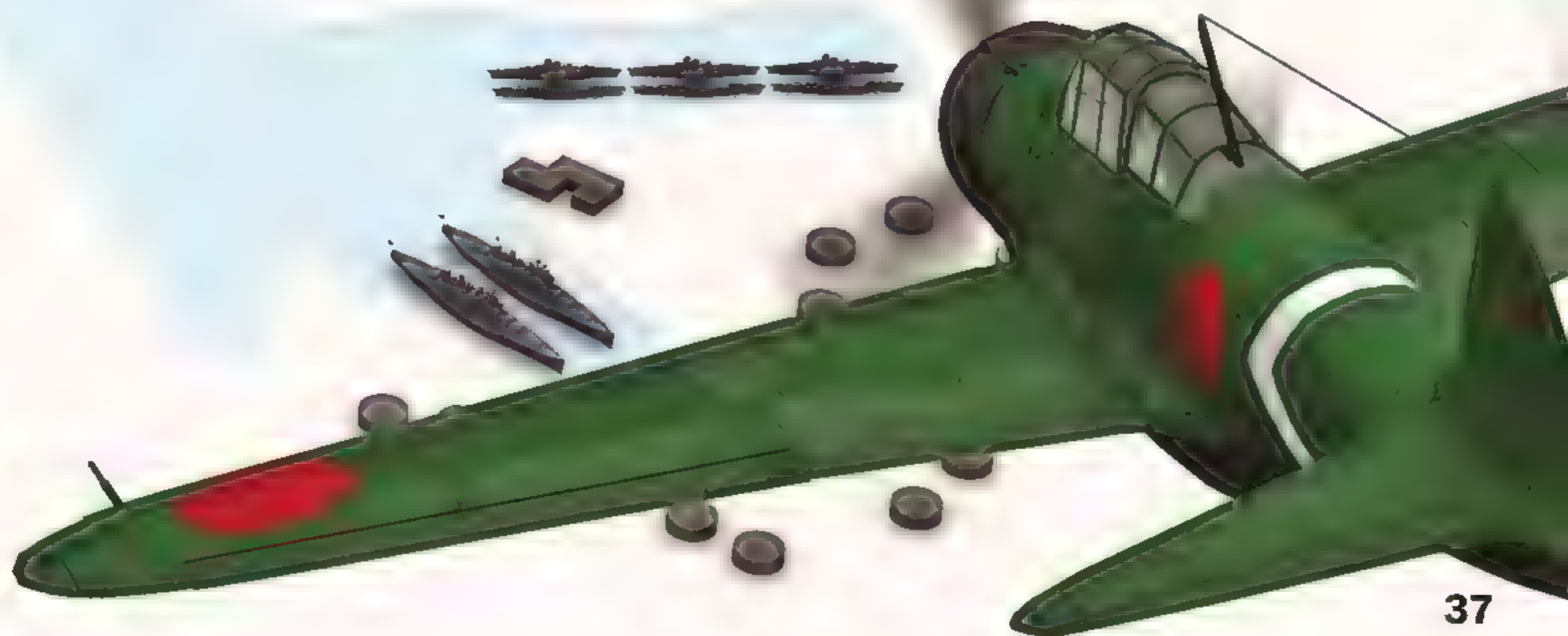


OTHER AIRCRAFT

Nakajima B5N2 "Kate"
 Maximum speed: 350 km/h
 Maximum altitude: 7,640 m
 Autonomy: 1,100 km



Aichi D3A "Val"
 Maximum speed: 389 km/h
 Maximum altitude: 9,300 m
 Autonomy: 1,473 km
 Load: one bomb of 250 kg



THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY

Inside the task force that brought unprompted death and destruction to the US Navy on the shores of Oahu

Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto was Commander in Chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy on 7 December 1941. The cornerstones of his task force were the aircraft carriers that would carry the fighters and bombers into battle. His flagship was named Akagi, Japanese for Red Castle. Originally envisaged as an Amagi-class battle cruiser, its role was converted to that of an aircraft carrier after the 1922 Washington Naval Treaty restricted warship construction in Japan. An integral ship in the growing Japanese naval war machine, the vessel helped shape naval code and strategy in the Land of the Rising Sun. Akagi contributed to the favoured Japanese tactic of using concentrated air attacks ahead of the main battle fleet, a strategy that would inflict so much pain on the US Navy at Pearl Harbor.

Akagi was one of six carriers that headed to Hawaii on that fateful morning. The others were Kaga,

Shokaku, Zuikaku, Soryu and Hiryu and they were accompanied by two heavy cruisers, two battleships, two light cruisers and 11 destroyers. A formidable attack force, they all carried fighters, bombers and torpedo bombers. The primary targets were US Navy ships like USS Oklahoma, USS West Virginia and USS California, as well as airfields and other land installations. As the battleships and submarines patrolled for potential pre-emptive attacks by US warships, the aircraft carriers unleashed the first wave of 180 bombers and fighters that sped towards Pearl Harbor. More and more were sent from the hangars to the decks as 2,403 US personnel saw their final morning.

CARRIER AIRCRAFT

There were three main types of Japanese carrier aircraft at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The Nakajima B5N was the only one that had completely foldable wings. This saved considerable hangar space, but the Mitsubishi Zeros and Aichi D3As were also designed to fit in the on-board elevators.

FLIGHT DECKS

91 aircraft could be carried at a time. Akagi initially had three flight decks, giving it the ability to rapidly launch aircraft into the skies. Unfortunately, this atypical design of the ship meant the middle flight deck was often too short to be of any use.

COST

Initially laid down as a battle cruiser in December 1920, the ship went through major aesthetic changes after the 1922 Washington Naval Treaty. Costing 53 million Yen, Akagi was the most expensive vessel in the entire Japanese fleet.

ISLAND SUPERSTRUCTURE

Operations were directed from the bridge atop an island superstructure. Akagi was one of only two aircraft carriers ever to have its island superstructure placed on the port rather than the starboard side of its deck. It was constructed this way as an attempt to prevent air turbulence over the deck.

REFITTING PROGRAMME

Akagi's triple flight deck was replaced in 1935 by a refitting programme that gave the ship a more modern and larger flight deck. After Pearl Harbor, the ship also fought at Port Darwin and the Battle of Midway, two major Pacific engagements in World War II.

POWER AND RANGE

Akagi was powered by four Kampon geared steam turbines, giving it a top speed of 58km/h and a maximum range of 22,224km. A total of 1,630 men could cram onto the ship, which was a powerful mobile battle station.

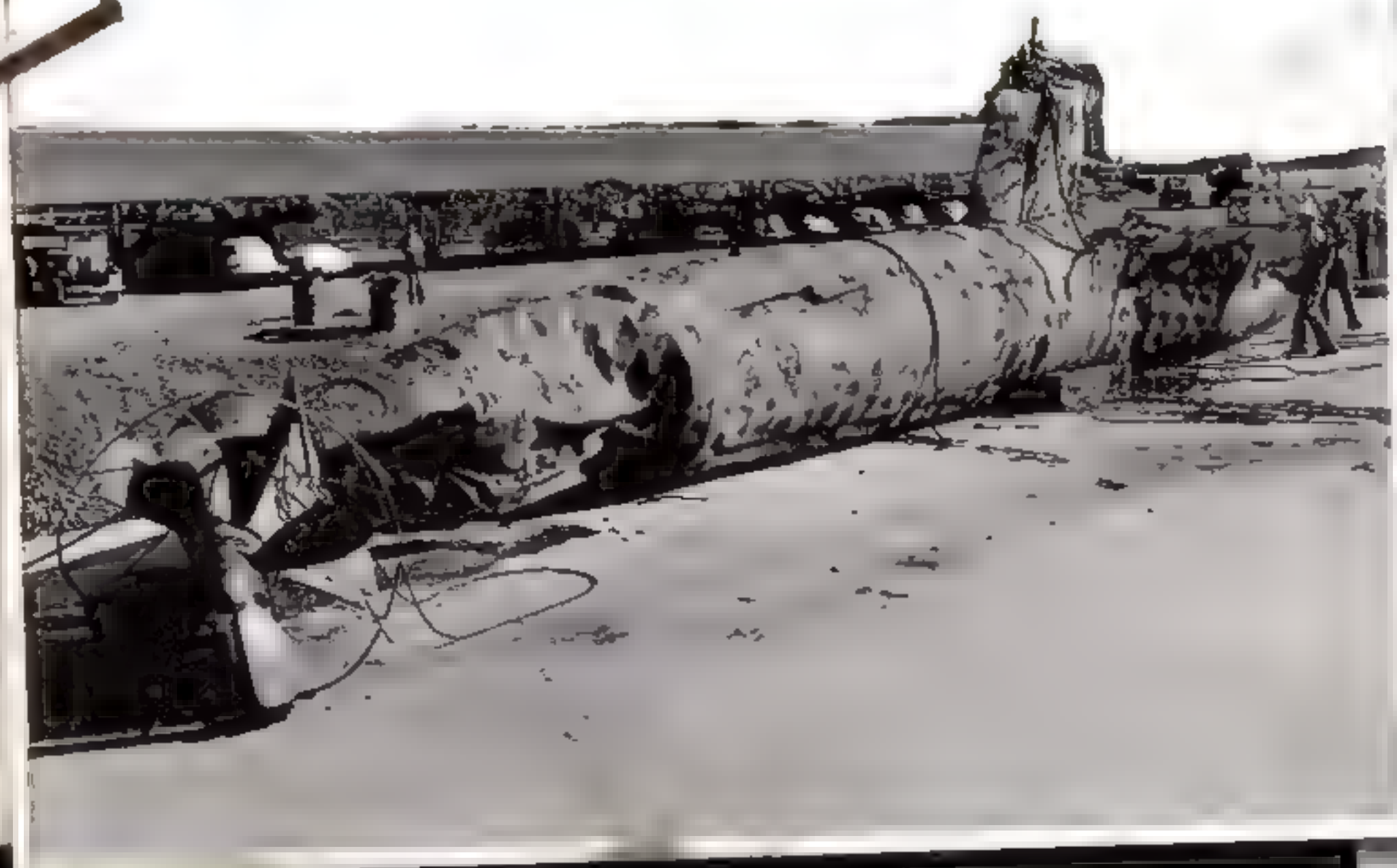
MIDGET SUBMARINES

One of the vessel types used in the attack by the Japanese Navy were midget submarines. Essentially a mini version of a normal sub, the secret Japanese versions were much more technologically advanced than their European counterparts. A 600 horsepower engine gave propulsion and two 450kg torpedoes ensured each sub of eight men packed a punch. They were dispatched into Pearl Harbor, a few kilometres from the naval base via larger 'mother' submarines and squeezed into Pearl Harbor's narrow entrance and past its anti-submarine defences.

The plan was simple: fire torpedoes to take the US battle cruisers to the bottom of the ocean. Their effectiveness, however, remains questionable, as many were later discovered with unfired payloads. Regardless, midget submarines still played at least some part in the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, and the vessels are believed to have dealt damage to USS Oklahoma, USS West Virginia and USS Arizona.

WEAPONRY

When put under attack, the Akagi had ten twin 20cm guns that could put up a fight against enemy cruisers. The armament also contained six 120mm and 14 25mm anti-aircraft guns that fended off attacks from the air from fighters and bombers.



THE FIRST WAVE DESCENDS

Total surprise gave Japanese aircraft uncontested control of the skies, enabling them to inflict heavy damage on Battleship Row

WORDS WILLIAM WELSH

The pilot of the Japanese torpedo bomber flew into the crowded harbour from the southeast. He pointed his aircraft toward the US battleships lined in pairs along the docks. His 5m- (17ft-) long torpedo splashed into the water, dropped to the proper depth, and sped toward two ships docked side by side. The steel fish skirted under a repair ship in the outside berth and slammed into the side of the Arizona. The explosion rocked the mighty battleship. Shortly afterwards, Japanese bombers flying at high altitude dropped successive armour-piercing bombs on the crippled giant. Multiple explosions rocked the ship, which then sank into the shallow bottom of the harbour. The pilots of the first wave of Japanese aircraft to strike Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 were over the harbour for less than 30 minutes. When they pulled away, they had sunk the Arizona and three other battleships.

The journey to the warm waters of Hawaii began in an icy bay in the Kurile Islands. Snow was whipping through the icy waters of Hitokappu Bay when the Japanese carrier battle group known as Kido Butai had set sail 11 days earlier for the Hawaiian Islands. Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto had conceived a bold plan to launch a pre-emptive strike on Pearl Harbor, the US naval base on Oahu Island, to cripple the US Pacific Fleet long enough to enable Japan to conquer without interruption the resource-rich lands of Southeast Asia. First Air Fleet Commander Vice-Admiral Chuichi Nagumo's carrier task force endured heavy seas on its northern passage across the Pacific Ocean.

On 6 December, the day before the attack, the air crews listened while a message from Yamamoto was read to them. "The rise and fall of the empire depends on this battle," wrote the admiral. "Everyone will do his duty to the utmost." From a Japanese spy on Oahu, Nagumo and his officers knew that battleships, not aircraft carriers, were in the harbour. It did not matter. The attack went forward as planned.

TORA, TORA, TORA

On the morning of Sunday 7 December, Nagumo and the Japanese ship captains of Kido Butai awoke to rough seas, but otherwise perfect weather for the attack. The Japanese carrier fleet was approximately 220 miles north of the Hawaiian Islands, which was about a one-hour flight for the bombers and fighters packed tightly on the decks of the battle group's six carriers. Nagumo had a total of 399 aircraft, 40 of which would circle over the fleet, furnishing protection against a US carrier counterattack.

The flight decks were bustling with activity at 3.30am as crewmen started the aircraft. Present with Nagumo on his flagship, the aircraft carrier Akagi, were Commander Minoru Genda, who would orchestrate the attacks from the Akagi, and Commander Mitsuo Fuchida, who would direct the first wave as an observer in one of the three-man bombers. Fuchida would indicate by firing a signal flare from his lead aircraft whether surprise had been achieved. One flare would mean 'surprise won', and two flares would mean 'surprise lost'. In the case of the former, the torpedo planes were to lead the attack; but in the case of the latter, the dive bombers were to lead the attack to knock out anti-aircraft positions and

BELOW A Japanese Nakajima B5N bomber from the Japanese aircraft carrier Kaga leaves Oahu after participating in the first attack wave



INSET Dive bombers from the Japanese aircraft carrier Kaga leave Oahu after participating in the first attack wave

US fighters before they could get aloft. Nagumo and his staff designated 185 aircraft for the first wave. Minus two fighters that malfunctioned, the first wave consisted of 43 Mitsubishi A6M Zeros, 51 Aichi D3A dive bombers, 49 Nakajima B5N high-altitude bombers and 40 Nakajima B5N torpedo bombers.

The first planes to roar down the flight deck were the single-seat Zeros, armed with two 7.7mm machine guns in the cowlings and two 20mm cannon in the wings. The Zeros were to furnish protection for the bombers, as well as suppress anti-aircraft fire. In addition, they could support the dive bombers in their attacks on US airfields on Oahu. The bombers launched after the fighters. On Fuchida's signal, they turned south to Oahu.

The Japanese dive bombers were outfitted with a single 250kg (551lb) bomb. Like the dive bombers, the Japanese high-altitude and torpedo bombers had one chance to strike their objective because they carried, respectively, one 800kg (1,763lb) armour-piercing bomb and one 838kg (1,847lb) torpedo.

Upon reaching the north shore of Oahu, Fuchida fired his flare gun once, which was a signal that surprise was achieved and to proceed as planned with the torpedo aircraft receiving first priority. But believing that one of the fighter commanders, Lieutenant Masaji Suganami, had missed the signal because his aircraft failed to assume an attack formation, Fuchida fired a second flare ten seconds later. Unfortunately, Lt Cdr Kakuichi Takahashi, the dive bomber commander, misinterpreted the two flares as meaning that surprise had not been achieved and the dive bombers were to begin their attack immediately.

The upshot was that the dive bombers, which had a shorter flight path to Pearl Harbor, arrived before the torpedo aircraft, which had a more circuitous route to avoid detection. After firing the flares, Fuchida radioed the other aircraft the code words 'Tora, Tora, Tora', confirming that the attackers had achieved total surprise.

The first wave split, with 94 dive bombers and fighters heading directly across the island, while the 89 high-level and torpedo bombers flew west to approach the harbour from the southwest. The Kate bombers immediately split up by type, with Fuchida leading the 49 high-level bombers on an outside flight path, while Lieutenant Shigeharu Murata led the 40 torpedo bombers on an inside path around the west side of Oahu.



The dive bombers were responsible for striking three clusters of facilities: Wheeler Airfield and Schofield Barracks in the middle of the island, Kaneohe Naval Air Station and Bellows Field on the east side of the island, and the airfields clustered around Pearl Harbor on the south side of the island.

As the 94 dive bombers and fighter aircraft roared through the centre of the island, a thick mist clung to the interior valley between the Waianae and Koolau mountain ranges. The dive bombers split up, with Lt Cdr Akira Sakamoto leading 25 D3A 'Vals' against Wheeler Field, while Lt Cdr Kakuichi Takahashi sped south with 26 Vals heading for Hickam Field and the airfields adjacent to Pearl Harbor.

Fourteen Zeroes descended on Wheeler while the other 29 Zeros continued south toward Pearl Harbor and Kaneohe. Sakamoto and his fellow pilots found

ABOVE Japanese dive bombers and fighters inflicted devastating damage to US land-based aircraft at Wheeler and Hickam airfields on Oahu

BELOW Type 91 torpedoes were retrofitted with wooden fins to give them buoyancy in the shallow waters of Pearl Harbor



91 US fighter aircraft parked wing-to-wing in front of Wheeler's hangars. Explosions rocked the ground as the 250kg bombs blew apart the fighters and transformed the hangars into burning ruins. Wheeler lost half of its aircraft.

The pure delight of the Japanese pilots of the first wave is captured in the recollections of Zero pilot Kazuo Muranaka, who participated in the attack on Wheeler Field. "Looking at my comrades in their planes, I could see them grinning, with sharp eyes, hungry for good games."

ABUNDANT TARGETS

As the torpedo bombers approached Pearl Harbor, they divided up. Murata led 24 Kate torpedo bombers against Battleship Row on the east side of Ford Island where the majority of the battleships were located, while lieutenants Tsuyoshi Nagai and Heita Matsumura led 16

torpedo bombers against the battleships and cruisers on the west side of Ford Island. The Type 91 torpedoes were retrofitted with wooden fins two months before the attack to give them buoyancy in the shallow waters of the harbour.

Each torpedo bomber pilot had a specific target in Pearl Harbor. The battleships West Virginia and Oklahoma were both docked on the outside, which made them prime targets. At the outset of the attack, two torpedoes sank the West Virginia. Three torpedo bombers, one of which dropped as low as 18m (60ft) to fire its torpedo, all scored direct hits on the Oklahoma. After she was hit with two more torpedoes, the Oklahoma capsized.

As for the Arizona, after being hit by the initial torpedo, Fuchida's high-altitude bombers hit the Arizona seven times. The bombs set off massive explosions which killed 2,000 men and sank the ship. The California and

RIGHT The first wave suffered no opposition from US fighters and negligible anti-aircraft fire

BELOW Crew of the Shokaku in heavy seas prepare to launch their planes with the first wave of attack



PRECISION TIMING

2.00am

The Japanese carrier fleet receives an intelligence report that the US Navy has not put up barrage balloons or torpedo nets to protect the ships in Pearl Harbor.

3.30am

Maintenance crews start the engines of aircraft on the flight deck and awaken the air crews.

5.00am

Two Aichi E13A seaplanes launch on a last-minute reconnaissance mission to determine the exact location of the US battleships.



6.00am

The six carriers begin launching the aircraft. The fighter aircraft, which are the first planes into the sky, circle overhead waiting for the bombers to complete their launch.

6.20am

Fuchida flies his aircraft over the bow of the Akagi as a signal for the other aircraft to begin the hour-long flight south to Oahu.

7.38am

The Aichi E13A scout plane from the cruiser Chikuma confirms that the US battleships are at Pearl Harbor.



target ship Utah on the east and west side of Ford Island, respectively, each were hit by two torpedoes. Takahashi's dive bombers swooped down on the Pennsylvania, the flagship of the Pacific Fleet, which was in drydock opposite Battleship Row, but her anti-aircraft guns were manned, which thwarted additional attacks.

Early in the attack, Lt Cdr Shigeru Itaya had led 18 Zeros against Hickam Field and the Marine airfield at Ewa on the west side of Pearl Harbor to ensure that no American aircraft were able to get airborne. There were "fine objectives of attack in all directions," wrote Itaya. The fighters were soon joined by dive bombers. The Zeros came in low to strafe the barracks. The dive bombers went into their steep dives to drop their bombs and then pulled out at 400m (1,300ft). They focused on the B-17s,

but the large aircraft proved hard to destroy. Nevertheless, Hickam lost half of its aircraft, while Ewa lost more than half of its 51 planes.

At the same time the attack on Hickam was unfolding, Lieutenant Tadashi Kaneko was leading 11 Zeros against Bellows and Kaneohe Bay naval air station in the southeast corner of the island. Their objectives were similar to those of the groups attacking the other airfields: to strafe the hangars and aircraft parked on the apron.

After about 30 minutes, the bombers that had not already started their return flight to the carriers linked up with Zeros still over Oahu to escort them safely to the carriers. By that time, the aircraft of the second wave had begun to arrive. They would face far more resistance than the fortunate first wave.

7.49am

Commander Mitsuo Fuchida's radioman sends the message to all pilots, 'To, To, To': the first syllable of *tosugekiseyo*, meaning 'all forces charge'.

7.53am

Fuchida radios the task force the code words 'Tora, Tora, Tora', signalling that the aircraft have achieved a surprise attack.

8.10am

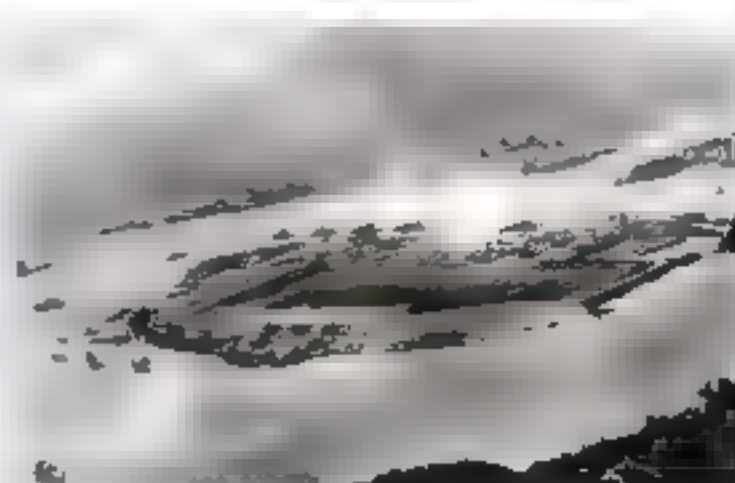
Eleven B-17s begin to arrive from the US mainland and 18 SBD Dauntless aircraft from the Enterprise also reach Oahu.

7.40am

The first wave divides as it reaches Oahu. Eighty-nine level bombers fly southwest around Oahu to Pearl Harbor, and 94 dive bombers and fighters head toward US airfields.

7.50am

Dive bombers and fighters bomb and strafe Wheeler Field in the centre of the island as the torpedo and level bombers begin their first runs on Ford Island and Battleship Row.



7.55am

Torpedo bombers and high-level bombers sink the Arizona, California, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

8.20am

The Japanese aircraft begin the return flight to their carriers.

THE AERIAL ATTACK FORCE

The bombers, fighters and torpedo bombers that scrambled from the Japanese fleet and headed towards Pearl Harbor

The sound of an oncoming Mitsubishi Zero struck fear into the hearts of the US mariners stationed at Pearl Harbor. A carrier-based fighter, it was an ideal fit for the mission that brought the USA into the Pacific theatre of the war. 353 aircraft were launched, with the first leaving the six Japanese carriers on the early hours of 7 December 1941. The attack force included 135 Zeros, with the remainder made up from Nakajima B5Ns and Aichi D3As. The latter two aircraft were bombers and dive bombers respectively, and the Zero's task was to escort them while also causing chaos itself. The fighters peppered vessels, airfields and anti-aircraft positions with fire and also destroyed four US aircraft in dogfights. While the Zeros were occupying the startled American resistance, the Aichi D3As, which were similar to the German Heinkel He 70s, were using their dive-bombing capabilities to devastating effect as the torpedo dive bombers claimed a 90 per cent hit rate during the attack. The B5N meanwhile was armed with improvised weapons. The torpedoes were constructed with wooden fins, while the bombs were no more than naval shells with tail fins attached to them. The attack was a tactical success and did not utilise the kamikaze method of attack, which the Japanese would use later in the war as their forces were pushed back. With superior performance to much of the Allied aircraft, especially in the early years of the war, Zeros were responsible for over 1,500 downs between 1941 and 1945.

WEAPONS

Two 7.7mm machine guns were inserted at the front for dogfighting purposes. These were supported by 20mm cannon in the wings while some Zeros also had 60kg underwing bombs in their payload. The aircraft was designed as a long-range fighter and had a maximum range of 1,870km (1,160 miles).

THE SELECT FEW

A total of 169 US aircraft from both the Navy and the Army Air Corps were destroyed in the onslaught. The airfields of Hickam, Wheeler and Bellows were targeted as US aircraft lay motionless. The majority of pilots were unable to scramble in time due to the poor radar alerts, but a select few did make it to the skies. One account tells of two second lieutenants – George S Welch and Kenneth Taylor – getting airborne in their Curtiss P-40 Warhawk fighters. Despite their planes being inferior in manoeuvrability, they managed to take down a number of Japanese aircraft and were accompanied by three other pilots from the Air Corps. A total of 29 Japanese aircraft were downed by dogfighting during the assault. It wasn't nearly enough to save the day, but the plucky resistance ensured that these pilots became the first American heroes of World War II.



SPEED

With a max speed of 533km/h (331mph), the Zero was no slouch. In the hands of a skilled pilot, it could outmanoeuvre anything from the US Air Force in the early years of the war. Even if the Americans had got more aircraft in the sky, it would have been a tough duel.

TECHNOLOGY

Zeros were technologically advanced for the era. Each cockpit had a radio direction finder built in to it that helped the fighter navigate effectively. Its engine, which gave it its renowned speed, was a Nakajima NK1C Sakae 12, a 14-cylinder, air-cooled, radial engine.

SIZE

The model flown at Pearl Harbor was the A6M2 Model 21. To fit within the elevators in the aircraft carrier hangars, they were fitted with folding wing tips. With a loaded weight of 2,410kg (5,313lb), they were lighter than their Allied equivalents, which gave them outstanding agility.

POWER AND ENDURANCE

The three-blade propeller was driven by over 700kW, enabling a climbing speed of 3,000m (9,842ft) in just under ten minutes. A 591-litre (130-gallon) fuel tank gave the aircraft up to eight hours' endurance at cruising speed, and a disposable extra fuel tank increased its range.

QUALITY NOT QUANTITY

10,430 Zeros were built in total and the monoplane design included retractable landing gear. Many more could have participated in the attack on Pearl Harbor, but the Japanese commanders decreed that only 135 out of an available 400 Zeros were required to complete the mission. They were proved right.

ARMOUR

The Zero's thin armour left it vulnerable to attack. Its aluminium body sacrificed protection for dexterity and it also lacked self-sealing fuel tanks. The lightness gave it an incredibly tight turning circle that frequently gave enemy aircraft the slip.

KAMIKAZE

After Pearl Harbor, the Zero was used more as a kamikaze fighter. Its effectiveness was curtailed by upgraded Allied aircraft and improved tactics that could blast the Zeros from the skies.

THE SECOND WAVE STRIKES

Anti-aircraft fire and thick smoke prevented the dive bombers of the second wave from sinking already damaged ships, so they found new targets untouched by the first wave

WORDS WILLIAM WELSH

U S Navy Ordnanceman John William Finn pointed his 30 calibre Browning automatic rifle skyward and fired it at a Japanese Zero approaching rapidly toward the armoury at Kaneohe Bay naval air station at mid-morning on 7 December 1941. The rounds slammed into the Zero overhead, ripping through the thin skin of Lieutenant Fusata Iida's fighter aircraft and sending it crashing to the ground in flames. By switching back and forth between a 50 calibre gun and the BAR, Finn inflicted damage on several enemy aircraft during harrowing attack by a squadron of Zeros on the facility that morning.

Iida's Zero belonged to the second wave of aircraft to strike Pearl Harbor. Whereas the first wave had benefitted from the element of surprise, the second wave encountered fierce anti-aircraft fire from both US ships and personnel at the more than half dozen large airfields scattered around Oahu.

Lieutenant Commander Shigekazu Shimazaki, the burly, cool-headed commander of the second wave from the aircraft carrier Zuikaku, flew in a three-man Nakajima B5N high-altitude bomber at the front of the 168-plane aerial armada that constituted the second wave of Imperial Japan's pre-emptive strike on the home base of the US Pacific Fleet. Like his close friend Commander Mitsuo Fuchida, he issued the same order for all of his aircraft to charge at 8.54am once they had cleared the east shore of Oahu.

The second wave of the Imperial Japanese Navy's carrier attack was composed of 54 Nakajima B5N high-altitude bombers led by Shimazaki, 78 Aichi D3A dive bombers (minus one that had engine trouble) led by Lieutenant Commander Takeshige Egusa, and 36 Mitsubishi A6M Zeros led by Lieutenant Saburo Shindo. Unlike the first wave, the second wave did not include any Nakajima B5N's armed with torpedoes because they were deemed vulnerable to the anti-aircraft fire that the second wave was expected to encounter.

As the Japanese planes reached Oahu, the majority of them crossed the 3,150-foot Koolau Range to descend on Pearl Harbor and nearby airfields. A small number of them, though, broke off to attack Kaneohe Bay naval air station and Bellows Field on the southeast corner of the 600-square mile island. Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, commander of the First Air Fleet, and his staff had ordered the aircraft crews of the second wave to finish off those warships in the harbour that had not been sunk by the first wave, and also to destroy the remaining US bombers and fighters scattered at airfields around the island. To achieve these objectives, Shimazaki's high-altitude bombers would pummel the airfields at Kaneohe Bay, Ford Island, and Hickam Field, while Egusa's dive bombers were to focus on US battleships, cruisers, and destroyers. Meanwhile, Shindo's Zeros would strafe enemy aircraft parked on the airfields that had escaped damage during the first wave.

BELOW Japanese carrier aircraft prepare to launch for the second wave of attacks on Pearl Harbor





LEFT Wheeler Field emerged from the attack relatively unscathed considering the number of aircraft that attacked it

TARGET HUNTING

The only appreciable damage Kaneohe Bay suffered from the first wave was the destruction by Japanese Zeros of some of its seaplanes lined up along the waterside launching platform. But in the second wave, both high-altitude bombers and fighters were directed against it. As the second wave reached Oahu, Lieutenants Tatsuo Ichihara and Tsutomu Hagiwara flew their 18 high-altitude bombers a short distance past Kaneohe before turning back to approach it from the northwest. Their bombs left Hangar One a smouldering ruin. In support of the high-altitude bombers, Lieutenant Sumio Nono led nine Zeros in strafing runs against the hangars and planes parked on the warm-up platform. Nono's Zeros arrived in wedge formations of three aircraft with their 7.7mm machine guns blazing. They destroyed ten observation aircraft at Bellows Field before moving on to their next objective. Although three US P-40 Warhawks attempted to intercept them, the agile Japanese Zeros knocked them out of the sky before they could gain altitude.

A few minutes after Nono's Zeros departed from Kaneohe, Lieutenant Iida led another pack of nine Zeros against Kaneohe. His Zeros had already strafed Bellows, and they were essentially trading targets with Nono. They



strafed the dock and warm-up platform, transforming the remaining seaplanes into flaming wrecks. Altogether, the Japanese planes had destroyed 27 of 33 aircraft at Kaneohe. After Finn shot Iida's Zero out of the sky, command devolved to Sub-Lieutenant Iyozo Fujita, who led the remaining Zeros toward Wheeler Field in the centre of Oahu.

Meanwhile, Egusa led his fleet of dive bombers, which was organised into four groups, over Koolau Ridge. As they approached Pearl Harbor from the southeast flying at 12,000 feet, bursts of anti-aircraft rounds exploded around them. Unlike the pilots of the first wave, they had considerable difficulty identifying targets because of the

ABOVE The bomber pilots of the second wave, like those of the first wave, had prepared rigorously in Japan for months before the attack

roiling clouds of black and gray smoke from the heavily damaged ships on Battleship Row.

The battleship Nevada, which had suffered only light damage in the first wave, left the dock about ten minutes before the second wave arrived in an attempt to reach open water. Lieutenant Saburo Makino, the senior dive bomber commander from the carrier Kaga, immediately led a pack of Aichi D3As against the Nevada. Each dive bomber of the second wave had one 550-pound bomb, and they had to make their attack count. The pilots of the aircraft approached the ship from different directions to force the anti-aircraft gun crews on the ship to divide their fire, thus lessening their chances of downing one of the dive bombers. The dive bombers came screaming down to drop their bombs, pulling out of their dives at the last possible second. In quick succession, five bombs slammed into the forecastle and superstructure of the Nevada. The stricken ship was unable to make it out of the harbour, so Captain Francis W Scanland beached it on Waipo Point.

Egusa, who led a group of dive bombers from the carrier Soryu, decided to strike the battleship Pennsylvania. The mighty vessel was in dry dock at the Navy Yard directly across the channel from Battleship Row. The anti-aircraft fire, however, made it difficult for the pilots of the Aichi D3As to line up safely for the strike. For that reason, the bombs fell wide of the target. Nevertheless, the same group of dive bombers was able to hit a pair of destroyers, Cassin and Downes, astern of the Pennsylvania. The ships were soon engulfed in flames. As the fires intensified, the charred Cassin fell against the Downes.

Lieutenant Masatake Ikeda led another group of dive bombers against the battleship Maryland, but their bombs missed their mark. Determined to inflict damage on a key target, Ikeda swooped down on the Pennsylvania and scored a direct hit on its starboard boat deck. Yet another group of dive bombers attempted to strike the Maryland, but thick smoke made it hard for them to see their targets and their bombs fell wide.

Several more dive bombers roared down on the Pennsylvania, but they also failed to score a direct hit. Spotting the destroyer Shaw in a floating dock in the Navy Yard, they plunged down on it and achieved two direct hits. One of the bombs ignited the forward magazine, which exploded in a massive fireball. Throughout the dive

bomber attacks, US sailors manned anti-aircraft guns on stationary vessels both on Battleship Row and in the Navy Yard. To their credit, the Navy gunners downed two dive bombers.

DAMAGE ASSESSMENT

Lieutenant Saburo Shindo led the 18 Zeros that passed over the Koolau Range bound for the interior of Oahu. They guarded the right flank of the dive bombers. After Shindo determined that there were no American fighters in the air yet, his group of nine Zeros split off to attack Hickam Air Field, while Lieutenant Yaushi Nikaido led the other nine fighters against the naval air station located on Ford Island. They strafed targets and also tried to knock out anti-aircraft guns that might strike the lightly defended high-altitude bombers.

Of the 54 high-altitude bombers under the overall command of Shimazaki, 18 had gone into action against Kaneohe and Bellows while the other 36 flew directly toward Pearl Harbor. One flight of nine bombers flew over Koolau Range while the remaining 27 swung out over the ocean to approach Hickam Air Field from the southeast. The large flight of high-altitude bombers that flew over Hickam laid down a carpet of explosives that leveled hangars and blasted to pieces parked aircraft. Hickam Air Field and Kaneohe Bay suffered some of the worst damage inflicted during the second wave. In contrast, Wheeler Field and Ford Island got off lightly during the second wave.

In a day with no shortage of tragedy, a heartening story was the ability of two US pilots to engage the Japanese Zeros in a short dogfight in the middle of the island. Lieutenants Kenneth Taylor and George Welch took off from Haleiwa Air Field and, after some aerial combat, landed at Wheeler to take on more ammunition. Just as the Japanese arrived at Wheeler, the pilots took off in their P-40 Warhawks and engaged Fujita's Zeros who intended to strafe Wheeler before heading back to the carrier task force.

Taylor claimed to have shot down two Zeros, and Welch said that he shot down one that was glued to Taylor's tail. The dogfight between the two US pilots and Fujita's Zeros occurred at the end of the second wave. Although it faced greater obstacles than the first wave, the second had still managed to inflict substantial damage on additional ships, as well as the airfields.



FRESH TARGETS

7.15am

The second wave of aircraft takes off from the carrier fleet north of Oahu.

8.50am

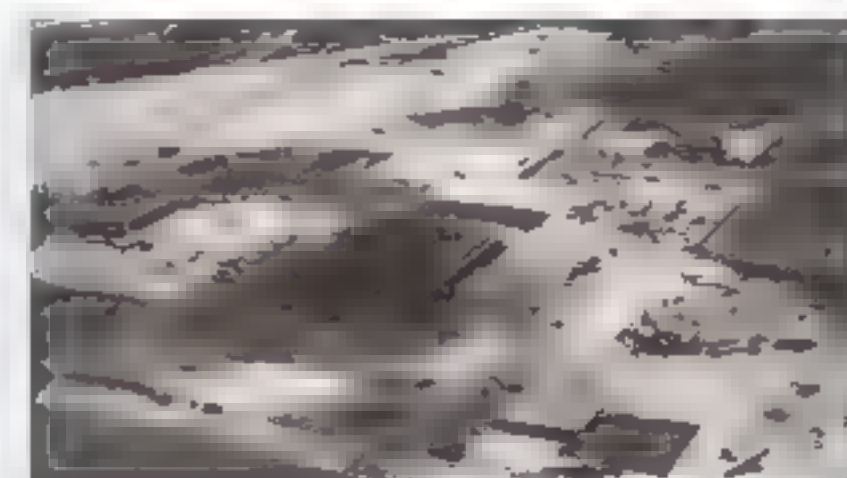
The 168-aircraft aerial armada of the second wave begins its approach on Oahu from the east.

8.54am

Lt. Cdr. Shigekazu Shimazaki issues the general order to attack "To, To, To," (the first syllable of *tosugekiseyo*) meaning "all forces charge" signalling for the second wave to begin its attack.

9.00am

Lieutenant Tatsuo Ichihara leads 18 horizontal bombers supported by Zeros against the barracks and hangars at Kaneohe Naval Air Station on the eastern tip of Oahu.



9.02am

Lt. Cdr. Takashige Egusa, the dive bomber commander, gives the order for the 78 dive bombers to begin diving on the ships on Battleship Row and in the dry docks of the Navy Yard.

9.05am

Lieutenant Saburo Makino leads a group of dive bombers against the battleship Nevada, which is heading for the safety of the open ocean, and they hit it with five bombs.



ABOVE Japanese dive bombers targeted B-17s parked at Hickam field during the Pearl Harbor attack.

9.07am

After several Japanese dive bombers miss the battleship Pennsylvania in dry dock, one scores a hit on the starboard deck. One of the bombs that missed hits the forward magazine of the destroyer Shaw in dry dock severing its bow.



9.08am

Two dive bombers score direct hits on the cruiser Raleigh causing major structural damage.

9.10am

Japanese dive bombers score direct hits on the destroyers Cassin and Downes as they sit in the dry dock.

9.30am

After first striking Bellows Field, Lieutenant Sumio Nono leads his nine Zeros north to strafe Wheeler Field in the centre of the island.

9.40am

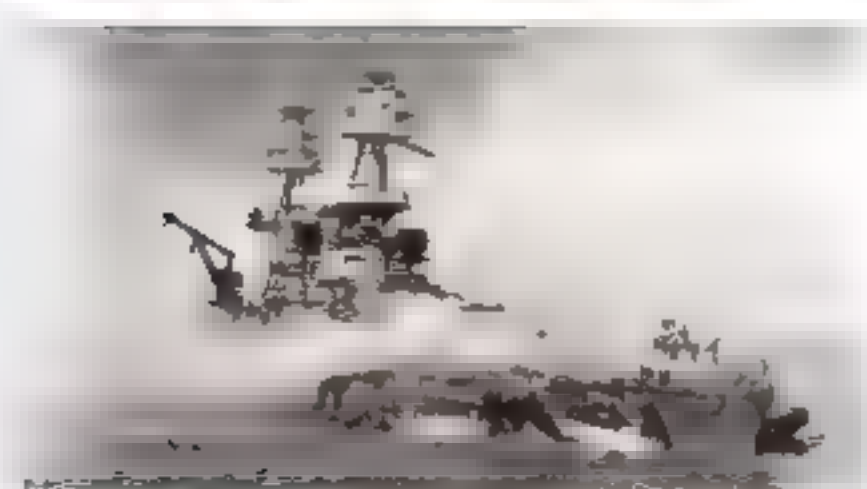
Japanese Aichi D3A dive bombers and Zeros bomb and strafe parked aircraft and hangers at the Marine airfield at Ewa.

9.35am

The cruiser St. Louis, undergoing boiler repair, makes a run for the sea from the repair basin.

9.45am

The second wave breaks off and begins its flight back to the carrier task force.



"IF THERE WAS ANY GOAL IT WAS TO STAY ALIVE"

US Navy veteran Charles E Ebel gives an eyewitness account of the attack on Pearl Harbor



CHARLES E EBEL

Charles Ebel, from Guilderland, New York, was serving as a seaman first class aboard the USS Curtiss, a seaplane tender, when Japanese warplanes attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbor. From his unique vantage point across Ford Island, Ebel saw many ships sunk in the most deadly foreign attack on American soil until September 11 2001. He passed away in 2014 aged 95.

"WE ALL EXPECTED THEM TO COME BACK. I THOUGHT THE JAPANESE WOULD TAKE OVER PEARL AND PROBABLY THE STATES"

On the morning of 7 December 1941, Charles Ebel and a friend were getting ready to go surfing at Waikiki Beach, totally oblivious of the horror that was heading their way.

"My buddy and I were learning to surf," said Ebel. "We'd ride these [3.6-metre] 12-foot bores and sometimes you'd be on one wave and your board would be on another, so you're just trying to catch it."

And then, in the blink of an eye, everything changed. "I was looking out the hatch [aboard the USS Curtiss] and I heard this roar, and I just saw a plane drop a bomb right onto that poor island where the planes were. And then he came back by the hatch I was standing in, so he was side on, and he had this big smile [on his face]. He went up the channel – he was looking for another target, I guess – and that was the start of it. From then on you knew it was [going to be] tough."

Ebel sprung to action. Once all hell had broken loose, his captain told him to head to the main deck to see if there was anything he could do. There was one machine gun on the deck which was unmanned. "In one flowing moment I jumped onto it and fired that for a while," said Ebel. "If there was any goal it was to stay alive."

What had started as just another day for Ebel in the idyllic setting of Honolulu in Hawaii turned out to be the scene for the greatest loss of life on American soil at foreign hands until 9/11 60 years later. Around 2,400 Americans were killed and 1,200 wounded.

In the months prior to Pearl Harbor, Ebel had been on cruisers in the South Pacific. On 6 December his ship, the USS Curtiss, had dropped gas off at Wake Island north of the Marshall Islands. A last-minute decision saw the Curtiss head for Honolulu. Upon arrival another ship had taken the Curtiss's berthing point near Pearl Harbor, so the captain ordered the ship to swing around behind Ford Island (see map). On the way the Curtiss picked up 378,540 litres (100,000 gallons) of gasoline, before berthing at night on 6 December 1941.

INSTANT CHAOS

When the attack broke out, the Curtiss was somewhat fortunate with its position. Its berthing point was far enough away from Pearl Harbor to avoid the majority of the Japanese onslaught, however the horrors they witnessed were anything but fortunate.

As Ebel explains though, they weren't completely removed from the action. "Our ship got credit for shooting down three planes and partial credit for a submarine," he said. "When we were in battle this submarine popped up behind us, and so we fired over the top of the sub. It went down but when it came back up it let go of a





torpedo and it went right by our ship about [3.6 metres] 12 feet out. It felt like it was closer, but they always look closer in your mind. The torpedo went up the channel, I don't know where it ended up, but there was a destroyer in the channel and the submarine ran at the sight of him. It went down and never came back up again. That was the start of everything big."

As mentioned, the Curtiss had just picked up thousands of gallons of gasoline, and Ebel was all too aware of the fact that he was essentially standing on top

a massive bomb: "There was a joke I always remember I said to my buddy. I asked him where he was going and he said to get a life jacket. I said, 'See if you can find me a parachute – that life jacket isn't going to be much help when that gas goes off!'" Fortunately, the gasoline never ignited and the Curtiss survived.

Ebel saw a lot of his friends perish on the Curtiss; in total 19 would die on the ship, with many more wounded. At the time, though, he was forced to hide any nerves he might have had.

"We were all accustomed to the drills," Ebel explained, "but when you get the real thing anything can happen. I was always composed pretty well, I was only a tiny bit nervous. It's part of the battle, I guess. You just get going and do your job, that's all. What else are you going to do?"

A STROKE OF LUCK

The attack itself ignited an almost psychotic fury within some of the American soldiers, highlighted by a grisly moment aboard the Curtiss. When a Japanese dive-bomber hit a crane on the Curtiss and crashed onto the deck, Ebel witnessed first-hand the extent of his fellow compatriots' anger. "When the plane hit the crane, [the pilot's] head came off and skated across the deck," states Ebel. "Our guys were vicious and they started trying to pull out his teeth with a pair of pliers. That always stood out because I was just 20 turning 21 and stuff like that bothered me. After a while you realise [the enemy is] just another person."

BELOW Smoke billows from the stricken USS Arizona, where more than 1,100 sailors died



aircraft hangar lies
in the midst of the
Harbor attack



With the attack fully underway, the Curtiss was dealt a stroke of fortune. A bomb had shattered the mooring on the back of the ship and, according to Ebel, "We were swinging around, and that helped us because if [the planes] passed us once then when they came back [on an attack run] we might have a different position." But while they were spared the full brunt of the Japanese assault, Ebel had an unwanted vantage point of what was happening around the rest of the harbour.

"The sky was full of them – they were like bees," recalls Ebel. "There were planes everywhere. This torpedo plane went right by us and sunk the USS Utah, and I saw when they dropped a bomb on the USS Arizona; it went right down the smoke stack and it blew it right out of the water." The surprise nature of the raid was the main reason so many ships were sunk, according to Ebel: "The Japanese got to our ships with the watertight doors all open – that's why they sunk them, otherwise you couldn't. They could shoot the whole top of a ship away and it still wouldn't sink because they've got watertight doors, and that's what keeps them afloat."

HAUNTED BY THE PAST

But as suddenly as the attack had begun that morning, around an hour later "they stopped all at once". Ebel and his crew, however, as you'd expect, remained on high alert. Some, including Ebel, even anticipated that Pearl Harbor was only a precursor to an invasion of the American mainland. "We expected them to come back,"



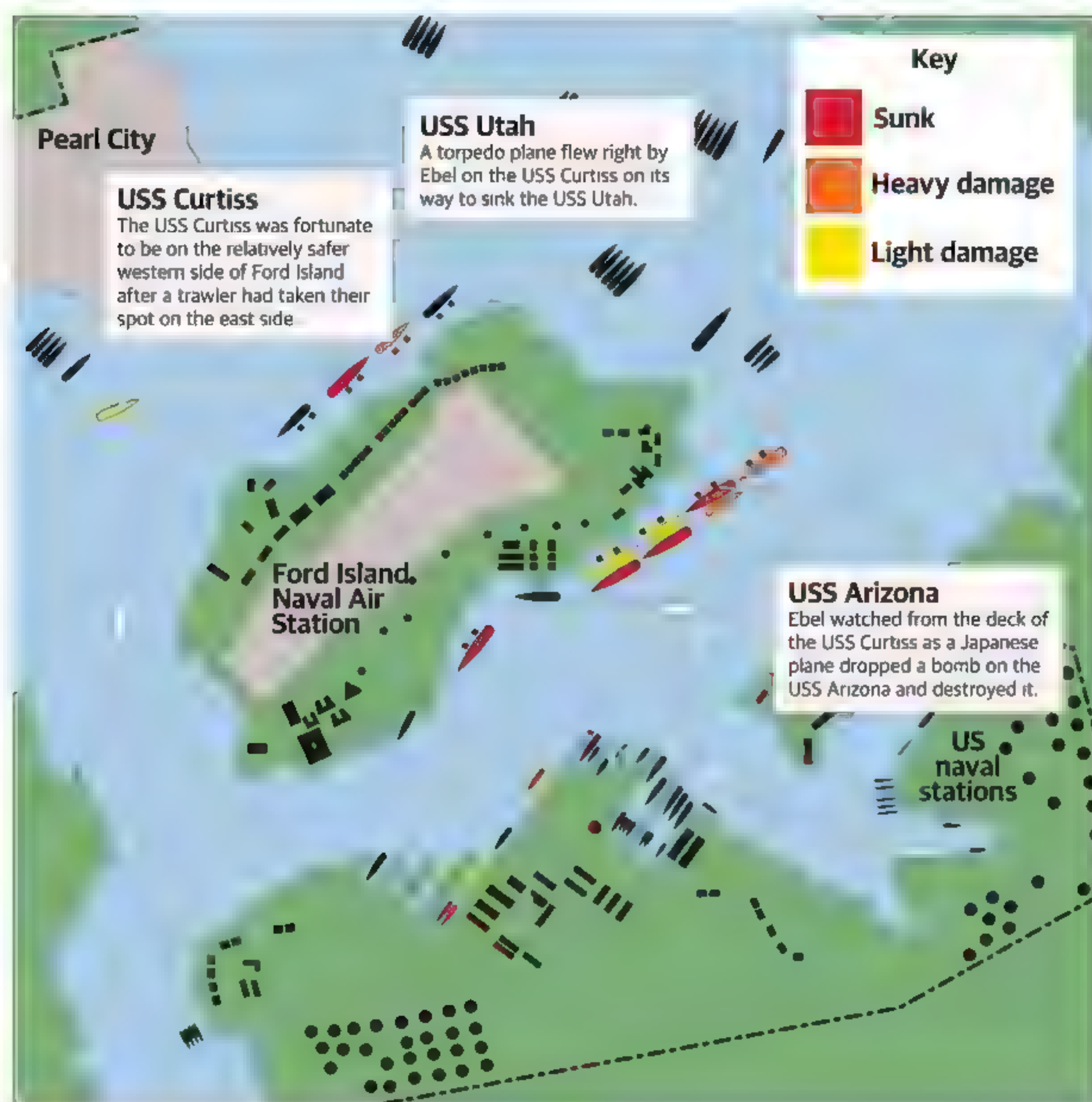
ABOVE Gutted wreckage of the USS Arizona

said Ebel. "I thought the Japanese would take over Pearl [Harbor] and probably the States."

"I always figured they could take the US over easy because they had the most aircraft carriers of anywhere in the world, and all they had to do was send one to Seattle and one to San Diego and nobody could stop them because [the US military was mostly] in Hawaii or other places. We never had much protection [in the USA during WWII]. They made a big mistake [in not coming back to take Pearl]; they lost the war right there. They might have won it. I don't know if they could have kept Hawaii or not, but if they'd gone to the States it would have been a different story. I'm glad they didn't."

For many of the Pearl Harbor survivors, the eventual Allied victory in the war four years later brought little consolation for what had happened on that tragic day. "I just feel sorry for all those people that got killed," Ebel tells us. "There was a cemetery up on a hill there in Hawaii. They used to dig these big long trenches and all these bodies sewn up in canvas bags would just get dropped in and they'd put up a cross. They didn't know who they were. It went for as far as you could see. I remember that – it never goes away. In the back of your mind, it's always there. I wish I didn't see it but I did."

The attack on Pearl Harbor took place over seven decades ago, and thus many of the survivors have since passed away. Those remaining though, like Ebel, are still struggling to come to terms with the events of that winter's morning in 1941. "It doesn't prey on my mind all the time like it used to," he said. "I used to walk down the street and somebody would slam a car door and I'd jump. Not any more. I don't have any nightmares about it like I used to. But you never get over it."



© Michael P Farrell/Times Union

"OUR GUYS WERE VICIOUS... THEY STARTED TRYING TO PULL OUT HIS TEETH WITH A PAIR OF PLIERS. THAT ALWAYS STOOD OUT BECAUSE I WAS JUST 20"





ICONIC MOMENT

A group of brave sailors aboard a small motorboat attempt to rescue a survivor from the waters of Pearl Harbor while the USS West Virginia, crippled by Japanese torpedoes, lies in ruin in the background.



A FATEFUL DECISION: JAPAN'S THIRD WAVE

A third attack wave targeting the naval base's fuel storage tanks and dockyards would have seriously delayed US Navy offensive operations

WORDS WILLIAM WELSH

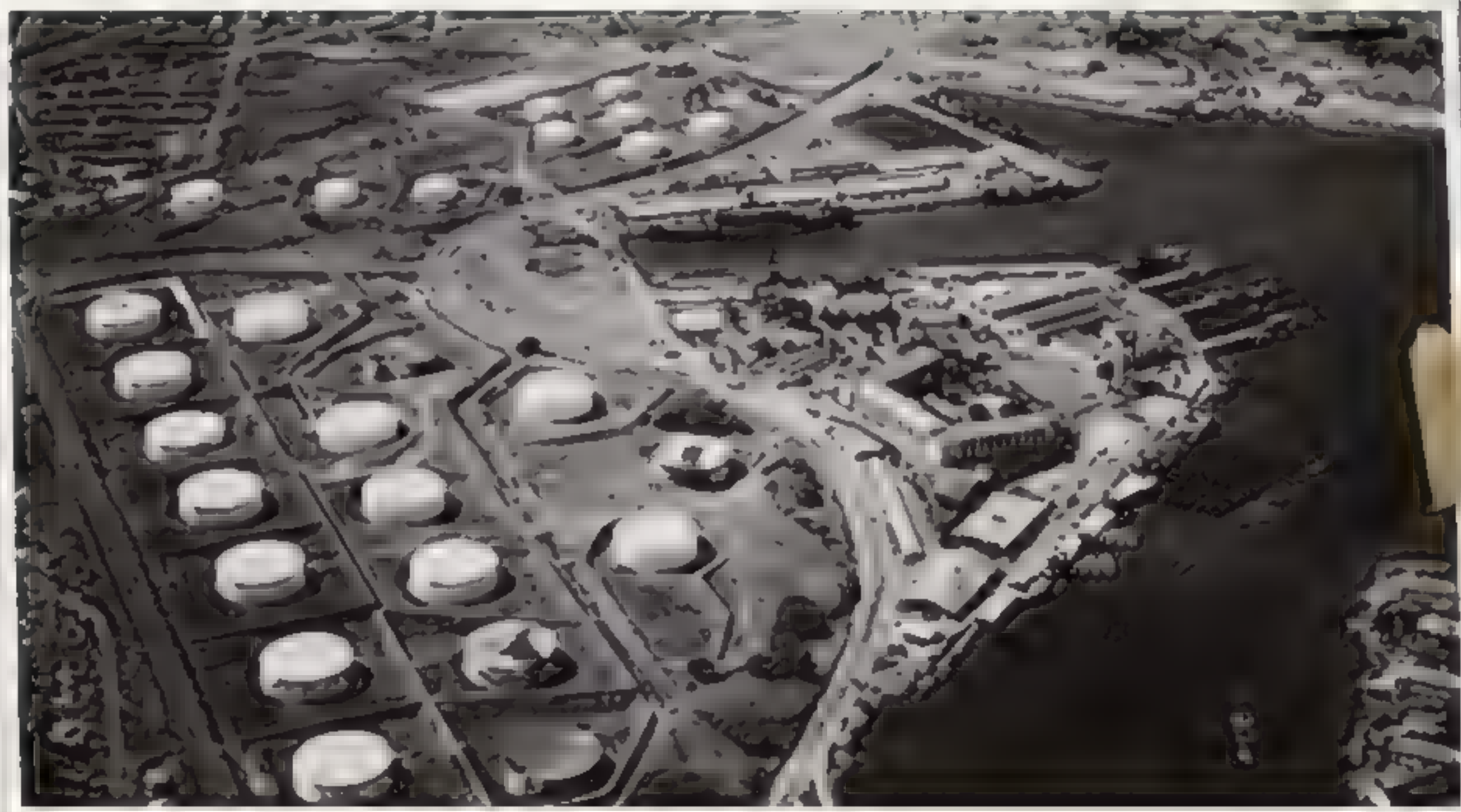
The high-altitude bomber lined up to land on the Japanese carrier Akagi. The weather in the Pacific Ocean north of the Hawaiian Islands had been steadily deteriorating since the first wave of aircraft to strike Pearl Harbor had launched at daybreak. Despite the high winds that buffeted the aircraft, its pilot managed to set it down perfectly on the crowded flight deck.

One of the three men to emerge from the aircraft was Commander Mitsuo Fuchida. He had led the first wave, which enjoyed complete surprise over the Americans at Pearl Harbor, and the aircraft in which he flew as an observer had stayed in the sky over Oahu Island to assess the damage of the second wave that had immediately followed it. His first duty upon returning was to debrief Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, the commander of the Japanese carrier fleet.

On the bridge of the Akagi, surrounded by Nagumo's staff officers, Fuchida responded to rapid fire questions from Nagumo and his chief of staff Vice Admiral Ryunosuke Kusaka. They wanted to know the extent of the damage inflicted, the possible location of the two US aircraft carriers believed to be in the central Pacific, and whether the US Pacific Fleet would be able to launch offensive operations from Pearl Harbor within the next six months. Kusaka asked Fuchida whether the Americans had enough aircraft left on Oahu to attack the Japanese carrier group if they located it. Fuchida said he believed the Americans did have sufficient aircraft left to launch a counterattack with land-based aircraft.

Based on Fuchida's answers, Nagumo heard all he needed to justify his decision to forgo launching a third wave. Not only had the Japanese aircraft inflicted heavy damage on the US battleships and airfields at Pearl Harbor, but Fuchida believed the enemy's Pacific Fleet would not be able to recover within six months. Nagumo had promised the Imperial Japanese Navy's General Staff in Tokyo that he would bring back the six carriers in his fleet intact.

When Fuchida returned to the Akagi, he was keen on participating in a third wave that would target the fuel storage tanks, repair and maintenance facilities in Pearl Harbor's dockyards, and the submarine base. But the worsening weather situation and the lack of knowledge as to the location of the US carriers were both sound reasons not to launch another attack that afternoon. Both Fuchida and Genda knew that another strike that day was unfeasible. The question was whether to remain in the area for one or two more days to launch a follow-up attack. Such an attack might greatly extend the amount



of time it would take the Americans to repair Pearl Harbor to support future operations in the central and western Pacific.

ABOVE By June 1942, all of the ships that were salvageable were either undergoing repairs or returned to service.

THIRD WAVE SCENARIOS

Genda had proposed a plan to Nagumo whereby the Japanese might not only complete the half-finished destruction of Pearl Harbor, but also locate and possibly attack one or both of the US carriers. Genda suggested to Nagumo that to ensure the protection of the Japanese carrier group he launch the fleet's long-range scout floatplanes to scour the waters around the Hawaiian islands in an effort to locate the enemy carriers. Genda also offered an alternate strategy whereby the Japanese carrier battle group might sail to Truk in the Caroline Islands where it could refuel. Then, it could launch an offensive in which it would aim to capture Wake Island and the Hawaiian Islands.

While these discussions were occurring, Admiral Yamamoto and his staff, who were aboard the admiral's flagship Nagato in Japan's Inland Sea, were discussing Nagumo's decision to withdraw. Yamamoto told his staff, some of whom advised him to order Nagumo to conduct a third wave, that Nagumo was the best one to weigh the pros and cons of a follow-up attack given that he was the commander of the First Air Fleet. Yamamoto, who saw the big picture, pointed out to his gung-ho staff that the Japanese aircraft participating in a third wave would not enjoy the benefit of surprise. Moreover, there were no operational plans drawn up for a follow-up attack on a subsequent day.

Both Nagumo and Kusaka believed that the carrier strike force had achieved the majority of its objectives and that to pursue the few remaining targets would risk the loss of large numbers of aircraft, as well as potentially one or more aircraft carriers to American counterattacks.

While the United States had the industrial capacity to build and launch additional carriers, the Japanese would be hard pressed to build more aircraft carriers, as well as meet all of the rest of their production needs during wartime. Nagumo enjoyed the full support of Kusaka. "With Japan's limited means, and America's potential, Japan just could not afford to gamble her ships recklessly nor run risks where the possible dividends were unclear," Kusaka wrote afterwards.

The American troops on Oahu recovered quickly from the attack and set about repairing the damaged battleships, cruisers and destroyers. After just six months of regrouping, the US Navy conducted offensive operations with its carriers in June 1942 in the central Pacific. If a third wave of Japanese aircraft had been able to destroy the fuel storage tanks and dockyards, the Battle of Midway might never have been fought.

RIGHT The Japanese failure to destroy the US Navy dockyards allowed salvage crews to begin working immediately to repair its capital ships



ABOVE The Japanese had no intention of launching a third wave without knowing the location of the US carriers



BELOW If the Japanese had completely destroyed Pearl Harbor's infrastructure, the Battle of Midway might never have been fought



BATTLESHIPS OF PEARL HARBOR

Despite the devastation of 7 December 1941, most of the US Navy's battleships returned to World War II service

WORDS MICHAEL HASKEW

ARIZONA

CREW MEMBERS: 1,514

LENGTH: 608 FEET

BEAM: 97 FEET

DRAUGHT: 29 FEET, 3 INCHES

DISPLACEMENT: 29,626 STANDARD TONS

TOP SPEED: 21 KNOTS

RANGE: 8,000 NAUTICAL MILES

One of the best known ships in the US Navy, the battleship Arizona had been featured in the 1934 film *Here Comes The Navy*, starring James Cagney. On the evening of 6 December 1941, the 21 members of the ship's band attended the current round of the "Battle of the Music," but did not play during that night's competition since they had already qualified for the finals scheduled for 20 December.

The next morning, every member of the band, most of whom were already on deck readying for the morning flag raising ceremony, was killed in a catastrophic explosion that wrecked the forward section of the Arizona, which sank in minutes.

The cause of the explosion was investigated, and though some conjecture still surrounds the conclusion, a report from the Bureau of Ships issued three years after the attack determined that a Japanese bomb struck



the Arizona slightly aft of Turret No. 2, passing through the main and second decks, crew quarters below, and exploding on the third deck directly above the powder magazines for the 14-inch main batteries. Open hatches allowed black powder used to operate the catapults of the battleship's three scout planes to ignite. In turn, the magazines that held 23 tons of powder for the main batteries and the forward 5-inch guns also erupted.

The detonation killed 1,177 men, nearly half the fatalities incurred during the entire attack.

ABOVE The battleship USS Arizona lies at anchor in the early 1930s shortly after undergoing an extensive modernisation

OKLAHOMA

CREW MEMBERS:

1,301

LENGTH:

583 FEET

BEAM:

107 FEET, 11 INCHES

DRAUGHT:

27.5 FEET

DISPLACEMENT:

29,000 STANDARD TONS

TOP SPEED:

20.5 KNOTS

RANGE:

10,000 NAUTICAL MILES

The loss of life aboard the battleship USS Oklahoma was second only to that of Arizona on 7 December 1941, as five torpedoes struck the vessel, causing it to capsize and killing 429 men. As the nightmare unfolded, hundreds of sailors were trapped below decks and suddenly plunged into darkness. Some were able to find pockets of air that offered temporary hope of rescue, but time was of the essence.

As the ship began to keel over, Seaman 1st Class James Ward stood calmly holding a flashlight inside a gun turret, allowing shipmates to find their way to safety. Ward, however, did not survive. He received a posthumous Medal of Honor.

Soon after the Japanese attackers departed, men with acetylene torches crawled atop the Oklahoma's upturned hull and began to cut holes to free those unable to abandon ship. 32 men, shaken to the core and gasping for air, were rescued. Others tapped on the hull with hammers for several days, but attempts to rescue them were futile.

Extensive salvage efforts were required in order to right the hull of the Oklahoma. In the spring of 1943, the delicate operation was finally successful;

however, the ship was deemed irreparably damaged. The bodies of those who died below deck during the Japanese attack were recovered, but most of them could not be identified and were buried in common graves. In recent years, modern DNA testing has resulted in the identification of some remains.

The Oklahoma's battered hull was sold for scrap in 1946 and sank northeast of Oahu while being towed to the US mainland.



CALIFORNIA

CREW MEMBERS: 2,200
LENGTH: 624 FEET
BEAM: 110 FEET
DRAUGHT: 30.5 FEET
DISPLACEMENT: 32,600 STANDARD TONS
TOP SPEED: 21 KNOTS
RANGE: 8,000 NAUTICAL MILES



On the morning of the Pearl Harbor attack, an awning was stretched across the stern of the battleship USS California to provide shade for Sunday church services. Just before 8am, Japanese Nakajima B5N "Kate" torpedo bombers roared in at low altitude to attack Battleship Row, where five of the US Navy's capital ships were moored.

When it became apparent that the stricken warships along Battleship Row were beginning to sink, a pair of Kates veered off to the west, where the California lay virtually undefended. Two torpedoes slammed into the battleship's hull, blasting holes at least ten feet high and 24 feet wide. As the ship began to take on water, a bomb slammed home, igniting a raging fire. Open hatches and ventilation ducts allowed more water to enter the

California's hull, and for the next three days the battleship settled into mud in the harbour. The ship's complement suffered 105 killed during the Japanese raid.

Temporary repairs allowed the California to float into drydock on 9 April 1942, and six months later the ship reached Puget Sound Navy Yard in Washington state. Following a year-long modernisation, the California was redeployed to the Pacific. In the spring of 1944, its guns supported landings in the Marianas at Saipan, Guam, and Tinian. In October, the California exacted a measure of revenge with the destruction of a Japanese naval task force in Surigao Strait during the Battle of Leyte Gulf.

After the war, the California was placed in reserve and then sold for scrap in 1959.

ABOVE The battleship USS California steams in the open sea. Seriously damaged at Pearl Harbor, the ship was eventually returned to service



ABOVE The battleship USS West Virginia, sunk by torpedoes at Pearl Harbor, rides at anchor in San Francisco Bay in 1934

Commissioned in 1923, the battleship West Virginia was moored outboard of the Tennessee along Battleship Row when Japanese torpedo planes and bombers struck on 7 December 1941. In the opening moments of the attack, the battleship was struck by seven torpedoes. Four of these hit below its armoured beltline. As the ship began to list, two more detonated on its second armoured deck. The last torpedo carried away the West Virginia's rudder.

The battleship's portside hull was ripped open nearly its entire length, but counterflooding allowed it to settle on an even keel. A pair of bombs, modified from 14-inch naval artillery shells, failed to explode but caused additional damage. Captain Mervyn Bennion, the West Virginia's skipper, was among 106 men who died aboard

the battleship at Pearl Harbor. He later received a posthumous Medal of Honor.

For six months after the attack, the West Virginia sat mired in the harbour's mud. On 17 May 1942, the battleship was raised. The bodies of 66 sailors who had been trapped below decks were recovered.

After temporary repairs, the West Virginia sailed to Puget Sound Navy Yard under its own power. Following an extensive modernisation, the battleship rejoined the Pacific Fleet in the Philippines, participating in the action at Surigao Strait during the Battle of Leyte Gulf and later supporting the Iwo Jima and Okinawa landings. West Virginia was present at the surrender of Japan in Tokyo Bay. Decommissioned in 1947, the ship was sold for scrap in 1959.

WEST VIRGINIA

CREW MEMBERS: 2,350
LENGTH: 624 FEET
BEAM: 110 FEET
DRAUGHT: 30 FEET
DISPLACEMENT: 31,800 STANDARD TONS
TOP SPEED: 21 KNOTS
RANGE: 8,000 NAUTICAL MILES

NEVADA

CREW MEMBERS: 1,301
LENGTH: 583 FEET
BEAM: 107 FEET, 11 INCHES
DRAUGHT: 27.5 FEET
DISPLACEMENT: 29,000 STANDARD TONS
TOP SPEED: 20.5 KNOTS
RANGE: 8,000 NAUTICAL MILES

The only battleship to get underway on 7 December 1941, the Nevada took a torpedo hit in its bow during the first wave of the Pearl Harbor attack. Seconds later, the Japanese pilot paid with his life, his plane riddled by the ship's anti-aircraft guns.

By 8.40am, the Nevada had slipped its lines and was underway, but it became the primary target of Japanese bombers during the second wave of the attack. When enemy airmen noticed the battleship steaming for the open ocean, they hoped to sink it and block the harbour entrance. At least five bombs struck the Nevada. Two damaged the forecastle, a third ricocheted off the foremast and exploded near the smokestack, a fourth damaged the galley, and a fifth hit ahead of Turret No. 1, blowing a hole in the main deck. The heavily damaged Nevada's heroic run ended when the ship was beached at Hospital Point with 57 crewmen dead.

On 1 May 1942, the Nevada was again watertight and sailed for Puget Sound Navy Yard. Following a seven-

month overhaul, it was assigned to convoy escort duty in the Atlantic. Subsequently, the battleship fired its big guns in support of the D-Day landings in Normandy on 6 June 1944, and again during the invasion of southern France before returning to the Pacific to participate in operations off Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

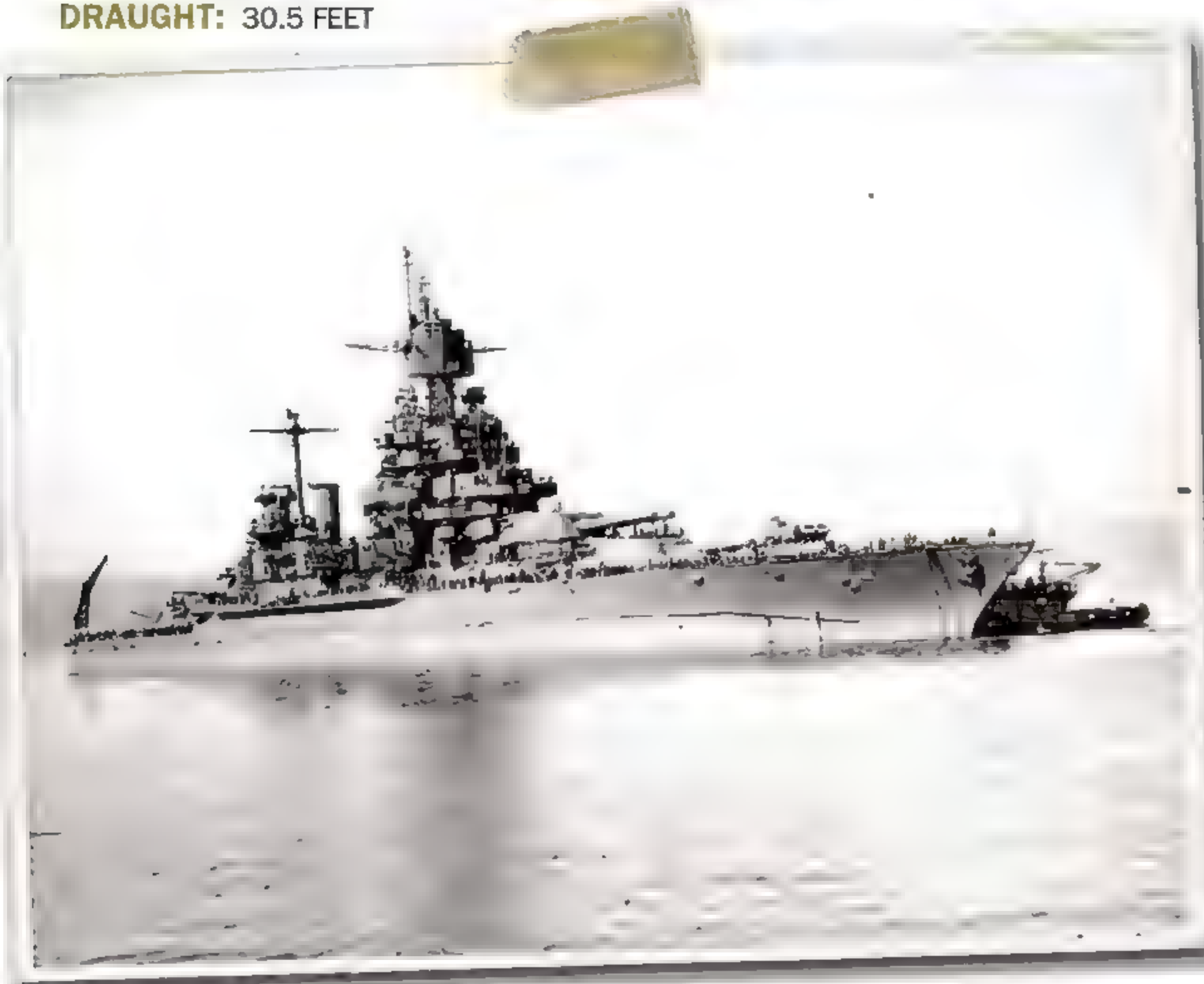
The Nevada was subjected to atomic bomb tests in 1946 and later found its final resting place, when it was sunk as a naval gunnery target ship.

ABOVE The battleship USS Nevada fires a broadside in support of Operation Dragoon, the 1944 Allied invasion of southern France



MARYLAND

CREW MEMBERS: 2,100
LENGTH: 624 FEET
BEAM: 97.5 FEET
DRAUGHT: 30.5 FEET
DISPLACEMENT: 31,500 STANDARD TONS
TOP SPEED: 21 KNOTS
RANGE: 8,000 NAUTICAL MILES



Moored inboard of the hapless Oklahoma on Battleship Row, the USS Maryland was one of six Pacific Fleet battleships modernised and returned to service following the Pearl Harbor attack. Although not immune from the Japanese onslaught, the Maryland was fortunate, hit by two bombs – both of which failed to explode – and suffering only four crewmen killed.

Still, the bombs did some damage. The first slammed through the awning draped across the forecastle and smashed several compartments directly below the impact point. The second ripped through the bow and gouged a hole in the hull, allowing saltwater to pour in. Temporarily repaired, the Maryland managed to resume normal duties within two weeks of the attack.

The ship deployed during the pivotal Battle of Midway in June 1942, patrolled in the South Pacific, and served as flagship of Rear Admiral Harry Hill's Amphibious Group Two, Fifth Amphibious Force during Operation Galvanic, which included the 2nd Marine Division's seizure of Tarawa Atoll in November 1943.

Overhauled in 1944, the Maryland bombarded Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshalls and destroyed Japanese strongholds on Saipan during the Marianas Campaign. The battleship was with other Pearl Harbor veterans at Surigao Strait, striking a vengeful blow against a Japanese task force, and provided fire support off Okinawa in 1945.

When World War II ended, the Maryland made five voyages between Pearl Harbor and the US West Coast, bringing service personnel home from the Pacific during Operation Magic Carpet.

TENNESSEE

CREW MEMBERS: 2,200
LENGTH: 624 FEET
BEAM: 110 FEET
DRAUGHT: 30.5 FEET
DISPLACEMENT: 32,300 STANDARD TONS
TOP SPEED: 21 KNOTS
RANGE: 8,000 NAUTICAL MILES

Although the USS Tennessee was inboard of the West Virginia, which saved the ship from Japanese torpedo damage on 7 December 1941, its hull was wedged tightly against a forward quay when the West Virginia sank. Like the Maryland, two bombs struck the Tennessee, but neither detonated. They did, however, damage Turrets No. 3 and No. 4.

Moored only 200 feet from the Tennessee's stern, the battleship Arizona suffered a devastating explosion just minutes into the Japanese attack, showering the Tennessee with lethal shards of steel. Burning oil from the Arizona engulfed Tennessee's aft section, blistering paint and starting fires. Miraculously, only five sailors died aboard the Tennessee on that fateful Sunday morning.

On 16 December 1941, engineers used explosives to free the trapped Tennessee from its mooring. Within four days temporary repairs were completed,



and the battleship returned to duty. In August 1942, it arrived at the Puget Sound Navy Yard for an extensive modernisation, returning to service in May 1943.

Later that year, the Tennessee supported landings in the Aleutian Islands and bombarded enemy positions at Tarawa Atoll. In 1944, the Tennessee operated in the Marshall, Bismarck, Mariana, and Palau Islands. The battleship was also present at the Battle of Surigao Strait. The Tennessee sustained damage three more times during the Pacific War, taking hits from coastal artillery off Saipan and Iwo Jima and absorbing a Kamikaze suicide plane's crash at Okinawa.

During its wartime service, the Tennessee participated in 13 campaigns or engagements. The ship was sold for scrap in 1959.

ABOVE As landing craft churn past, the battleship USS Tennessee fires at targets on the island of Okinawa, 1 April 1945.

PENNSYLVANIA

CREW MEMBERS: 1,358
LENGTH: 608 FEET
BEAM: 106 FEET, 3 INCHES
DRAUGHT: 28 FEET
DISPLACEMENT: 33,100 STANDARD TONS
TOP SPEED: 21 KNOTS
RANGE: 9,288 NAUTICAL MILES

The battleship USS Pennsylvania rested in Drydock One at Pearl Harbor on the morning of 7 December 1941, undergoing routine realignment of its shafts and propellers. Partially protected by the walls of the drydock, the battleship escaped serious damage during the first wave of the Japanese attack.

During the second wave, a 550-pound bomb struck the battleship's boat deck, wrecking one of its 5-inch gun mounts and killing 15 of the 24 personnel who lost their lives that morning. Sailors aboard the battleship put up a vigorous anti-aircraft defence, expending thousands of rounds of 50 calibre ammunition.

Repairs were accomplished rapidly at Pearl Harbor, and the Pennsylvania was back in service on 20 December. Following an extensive overhaul at the Mare Island Navy Shipyard near the end of 1942, the battleship deployed to the Aleutians the following spring and served as the flagship of Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, commander of the Fifth Amphibious Force, during Operation Galvanic and the capture of Tarawa Atoll. Subsequent operations were conducted in the Marshalls, Marianas and Philippines,



where the Pennsylvania fired its big guns at the Battle of Surigao Strait.

On 12 August 1945, a Japanese torpedo plane launched its weapon at the Pennsylvania, riding at anchor off Okinawa. The hit caused extensive damage, and the battleship was towed to Guam. Finally arriving at the Puget Sound Navy Yard in late October, the ship was repaired in order to sail to the Marshalls for use in atomic bomb testing.

The Pennsylvania was finally sunk off Kwajalein on 10 February 1948.

ABOVE The battleship USS Pennsylvania leads the battleship Colorado and the cruisers Louisville, Portland, and Columbia into Lingayen Gulf, Philippines, 1945

THE SALVAGE OPERATION

Damage control at Pearl Harbor began soon after the last Japanese planes had departed Hawaiian skies on 7 December 1941

WORDS MICHAEL HASKEW

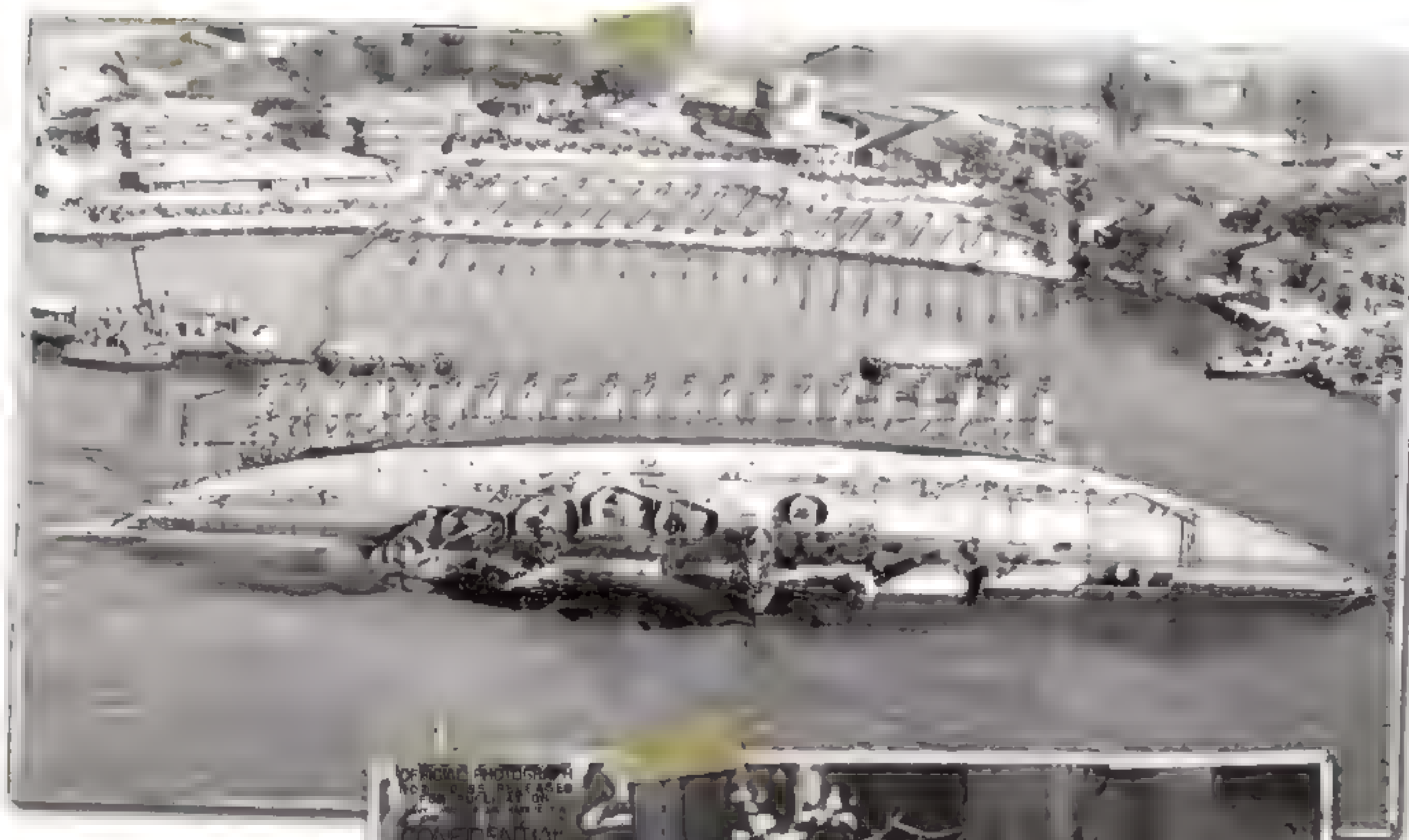
At first glance, the Japanese aerial assault on Pearl Harbor and other installations across Oahu on 7 December 1941 appeared to be an overwhelming victory. The Pacific Fleet was a shambles. Eight battleships and numerous other vessels were sunk or heavily damaged. Shore installations were bombed and strafed, aircraft destroyed on the ground, and 2,403 American military personnel were dead.

However, a closer look reveals that the enemy action might equally be assessed as a tactical blunder. Many machine shops and shore-based repair facilities were untouched. Japanese planes ignored vast oil reserves. The submarine base and support areas were still intact.

Each of these factors hastened the coming retribution for the surprise attack, and though profoundly shocked, the Americans wasted no time in setting about the business of salvage. Rescue operations were in full swing even as the smoke cleared. Wounded were tended. Wrecked aircraft were stripped of usable parts. And a Herculean effort was undertaken to refloat and refit the capital ships of the Pacific Fleet that had taken such a beating that fateful Sunday morning.

On 9 January 1942, Captain Homer N Wallin took command of the Pearl Harbor Navy Yard's Salvage Division. The first step in the massive effort was an assessment of the damage to the battleships. Scores of divers took stock. Welders worked to remove twisted steel, and carpenters shored up fractured bulkheads. Huge pumping systems were devised to empty flooded compartments of ships that had taken on water.

Soon Wallin was supervising the disposition of the shattered Arizona. Almost immediately, engineers determined that the once gleaming ship could not be repaired. Its six 14-inch guns were removed, and the gnarled superstructure was cut up as scrap metal.

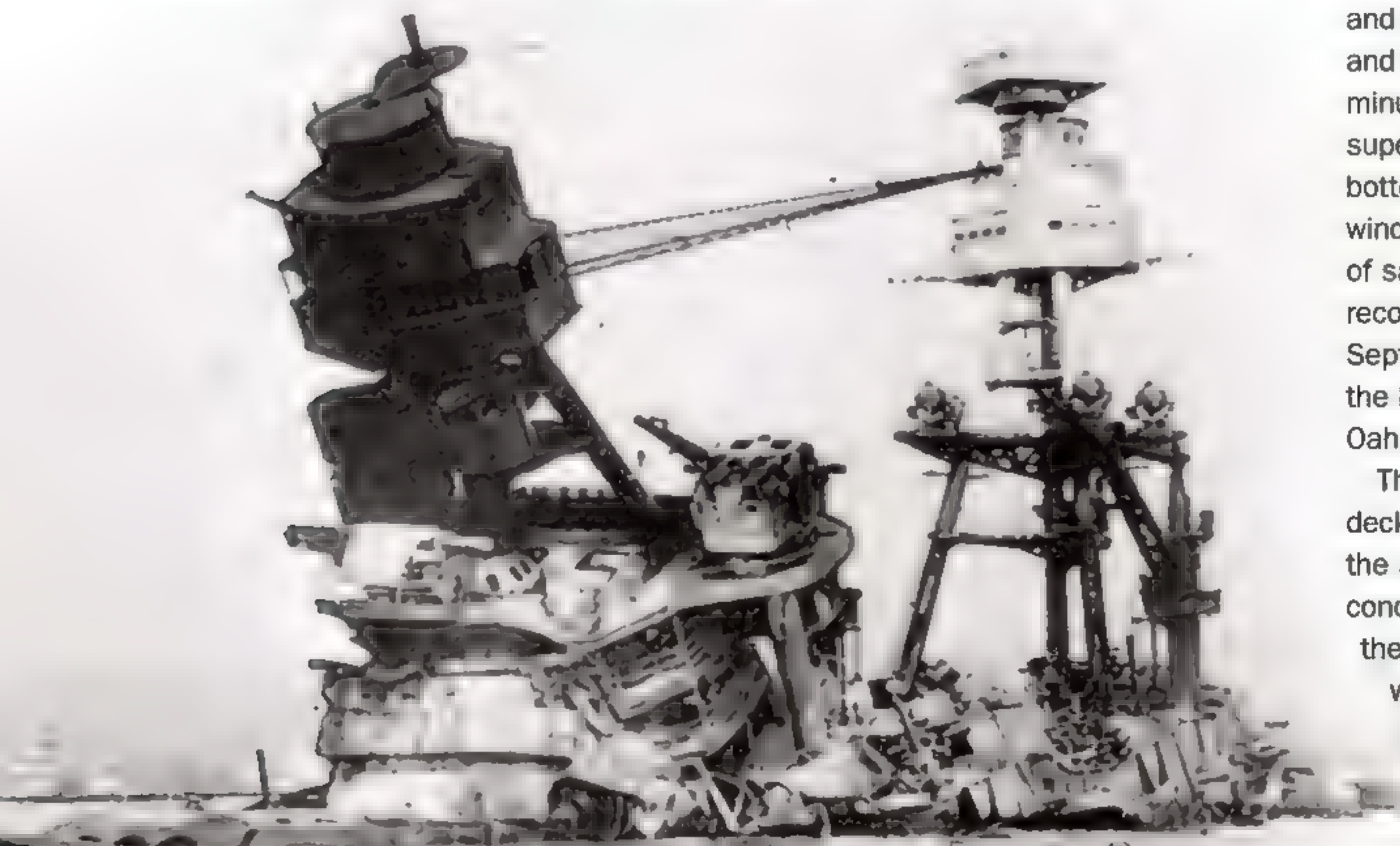


ABOVE On 19 March 1943, the capsized battleship USS Oklahoma is slowly righted by a system of electric winches installed on Ford Island



RIGHT On 24 October 1942, a diver emerges from the submerged hull of the battleship USS Arizona through 14-inch gun turret number 3

BELOW The heavily damaged battleship Arizona lies a twisted wreck at its Pearl Harbor mooring prior to the beginning of salvage operations



The capsized 29,000-ton Oklahoma was a major challenge, and efforts to right the vessel required months of planning and precise execution. Hit by five torpedoes in seven minutes, the Oklahoma had heeled over 150 degrees, its superstructure jamming deep into the mud of the harbour bottom. On 8 March 1943, a complex system of 21 electric winches began to slowly roll the battleship upright. Bodies of sailors that had remained entombed for months were recovered. Obviously, Oklahoma was beyond repair, and in September 1944 the ship was decommissioned. In 1946, the hull was sold for scrap. It sank 500 miles northeast of Oahu while under tow to the US West Coast.

The waters of Pearl Harbor lapped across the teakwood decks of West Virginia, blasted by seven torpedoes. However, the ship had settled to the bottom on an even keel. Huge concrete patches were fashioned and affixed to the hull, and the ship was successfully refloated on 17 May 1942. It

was a heartening moment for the salvage crews who had toiled so mightily. West Virginia sailed under its own

BELOW The USS Oklahoma was successfully righted, but ultimately the damage it sustained was too great to repair



power to the Puget Sound Navy Yard in Washington state, underwent extensive modernisation, and returned to duty in the Pacific in 1944. Fittingly, the battleship earned praise for its performance in combat and anchored in Tokyo Bay to witness the surrender of Japan on 2 September 1945.

California had been prepared for a morning inspection with hatches and ventilation ducts open. Slowly sinking, the battleship hit the bottom on 10 December. Wooden patches covered torpedo holes, and California was refloated and drydocked on 9 April 1942, modernised at Puget Sound, and rejoined the fleet in late 1943.

The battleships Maryland, Tennessee, Nevada and Pennsylvania suffered varying degrees of damage. Tennessee had been rocked by the concussion that devastated Arizona, taken two bomb hits, and caught fire. Its hull and superstructure were blistered by searing heat and burning oil that drifted dangerously close to its mooring. Maryland was struck by two torpedoes that failed to explode. A caisson was built around its damaged bow, and temporary repairs allowed the ship to return to service on 20 December 1941.

Each of the damaged battleships that was overhauled either at Pearl Harbor or the Puget Sound Navy Yard, returned to active duty and participated in the long campaigns in the Pacific or European Theatres, bombarding landing beaches, screening troop transports and battling the Axis enemy until war's end.

Other vessels, including the cruisers Helena, Honolulu, and Raleigh, and the destroyer Shaw, whose bow had been blown off in a spectacular explosion, were repaired; however, the destroyers Cassin and Downes were deemed total losses. The repair ship Vestal, seaplane tender Curtiss, and the aging minelayer Oglala were salvaged and returned to service.

ABOVE One of the most badly damaged vessels during the attack, the USS Shaw went on to serve extensively in the war after its refurbishment

BELOW Cranes swinging overhead, workmen labour during salvage efforts aboard the battleship USS Pennsylvania, which was in drydock during the attack

A system of electric winches similar to that which had righted Oklahoma was used in an attempt to salvage the old target ship Utah, torpedoed at anchor in the opening minutes of the attack. After the ship was righted 38° to standard, the Navy abandoned the effort. Utah's rusting hulk is still visible just northwest of Ford Island.

Captain Wallin relinquished his duties near the end of 1942, but the reclamation work continued, producing remarkable results. While the ships of the Pacific Fleet were salvaged, buildings were reconstructed, and bomb craters and bullet holes were plugged. The spectacle and swiftness of the recovery bear testament to the resilience and resolve of a people plunged into war.



AFTERSHOCK: RESPONDING TO PEARL HARBOR

The Japanese attack of Sunday, 7 December 1941, stunned the world, and stirred the United States to action

WORDS MICHAEL HASKEW



The First Extra Edition of the Honolulu Star Bulletin blared, "WAR! OAHU BOMBED BY JAPANESE PLANES." In a matter of a few short hours, the United States had been plunged into World War II – not with a formal declaration of war but with a sudden, unexpected aerial assault on its Pacific Fleet anchorage in the Territory of Hawaii.

Japanese naval aircraft had wrought havoc at Pearl Harbor and other military installations across the island of Oahu, and the long-expected conflict with the Empire of the Rising Sun was at hand. For the American people, quite familiar with rumours of war, the enemy had struck in the most treacherous manner, without warning and on a Sunday morning. In itself, this was enough to rouse righteous indignation across the country, enough for America's friends around the globe to join the fight against the aggressors in the Pacific, and enough to drive a stake through the heart of the isolationist movement that had threatened to polarise the nation.

While the first smoke of war still stained the Sunday skies and Japanese planes continued dealing death,



heroic military men and women along with civilians risked their own lives to care for the wounded, rescue those trapped aboard blazing battleships, and fight off the raiders with whatever weapons were at their disposal. Sailors took to small craft, pulling men badly burned, dazed, and covered with oil, from the water. Medical personnel rushed to hospitals and makeshift aid stations to tend the casualties, and lines formed as Hawaiians rolled up their sleeves to give blood, their donations dripping sometimes into sterilised soft drink bottles due to a lack of other containers. The US Navy issued the first official notification of the attack on Pearl Harbor at 8am

ABOVE LEFT President Franklin D Roosevelt signs the declaration of war against Japan after delivering his speech to Congress on 8 December 1941

ABOVE RIGHT A poster intended to bolster moral and national resolve reflects the sentiment of the American people following the attack on Pearl Harbor

local time, and the news spread rapidly across the United States. In far-off Washington, DC, the crowd filed out of Griffith Stadium after professional football's Washington Redskins defeated the rival Philadelphia Eagles 20-14, only to be greeted with the news that their country was suddenly at war with Japan. Families gathered around living room radios to hear sketchy reports; many of these average Americans had never heard of Pearl Harbor.

At 1.30pm Washington time, President Franklin D Roosevelt was in his study quietly conferring with close political advisor Harry Hopkins when Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox threw open the door and blurted that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt had just finished lunch and stepped inside the room as the president confirmed the news by telephone.

Amid the initial flurry of confusion, the president was calm and decisive. He dispatched aides to coordinate the response to the media, considered contingency options in the event of an outright Japanese invasion of Hawaii or even the US West Coast, and spoke by telephone with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who responded, "We are all in the same boat now."

As daylight began to fade on 7 December, crowds gathered on the sidewalk outside the White House,

confused but with an audible buzz throughout – a buzz that spoke of retribution, of vengeance. By 10pm, the president's long meeting with cabinet members and congressional leaders had broken up.

RESPONSE TO INFAMY

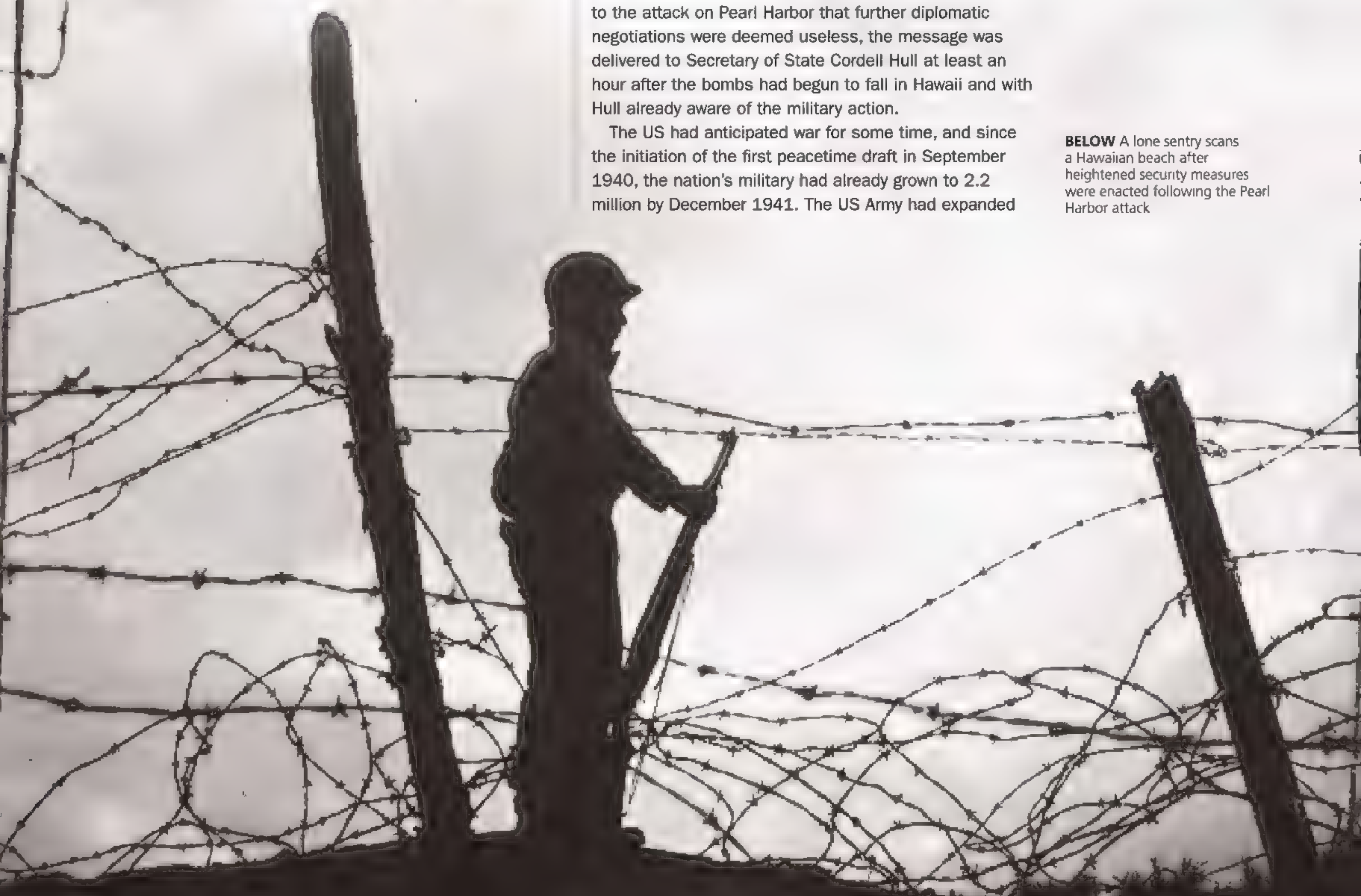
At 12.30pm on 8 December, Roosevelt addressed a joint session of Congress and intoned, "Yesterday, December 7, 1941 – a date which will live in infamy – the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan... Always we will remember the character of the onslaught against us... No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory..."

Roosevelt called the attack "dastardly", and his request for a declaration of war was summarily approved with only one dissenting vote, cast by Representative Jeannette Rankin of Montana, a confirmed and lifelong pacifist. On the same day, Japan reciprocated by finally issuing a joint declaration of war against the United States and Great Britain.

Although Japanese envoys in Washington had been instructed to inform the US government prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor that further diplomatic negotiations were deemed useless, the message was delivered to Secretary of State Cordell Hull at least an hour after the bombs had begun to fall in Hawaii and with Hull already aware of the military action.

The US had anticipated war for some time, and since the initiation of the first peacetime draft in September 1940, the nation's military had already grown to 2.2 million by December 1941. The US Army had expanded

BELOW A lone sentry scans a Hawaiian beach after heightened security measures were enacted following the Pearl Harbor attack



substantially from its interwar manpower ebb that had ranked the force as roughly the 19th largest in the world – slightly smaller than that of Portugal. Then, in the wake of the attack, Americans observed a sombre Christmas holiday as many of the bodies of 2,403 dead were gathered and buried.

Across the United States, young men from big cities, small towns, and rural farms flocked to military recruiting offices, and enlistments soared. Some stations remained open around the clock. Underage males begged their parents for permission to enlist, while others simply wrote the number “18” on a slip of paper, tucked it into their shoe, and swore to the local recruiting board that they were indeed “over 18.”

The slogan “Remember Pearl Harbor!” had already begun to resonate across the land, taking its place alongside such iconic American themes as the heroic stand at the Alamo and the sinking of the battleship USS Maine in the harbour of Havana, Cuba, half a century earlier. Eventually, 36 million Americans registered for the military draft.

Already moving steadily toward a wartime footing and providing arms and material for Britain in its fight against Nazi Germany, American industrial capacity was harnessed for the defeat of the Axis powers during the days after the attack on Pearl Harbor. In a move many historians consider one of his greatest blunders, Adolf Hitler declared war on the United States on 11 December 1941, and World War II became a global conflict.



ABOVE The banner headline of the Honolulu newspaper announces that war has come to the United States on 7 December 1941



REVIEW AND RESPONSIBILITY

From the shattered shore of Oahu to the halls of power in Washington, questions surrounding the attack on Pearl Harbor began to emerge rapidly. How could the armed forces of the United States have been so ill-prepared on that fateful Sunday morning? And more to the point, who was responsible?

Four days after the attack, Secretary Knox arrived in Hawaii on a fact-finding mission. The logical conclusion was to hold accountable the senior Army and Navy officers in command on Oahu at the time, Admiral Husband E Kimmel, commander of the Pacific Fleet, and Lieutenant General Walter Short, responsible for Army installations across the island.

On 15 December, Knox presented a preliminary report to President Roosevelt, concluding that both Kimmel and Short were responsible for the state of unpreparedness that existed prior to the Japanese attack.

Further, Knox noted that during interviews neither officer had concealed the fact that he did not expect an attack. Both had believed that no military action would take place while diplomatic efforts were ongoing, and even if the talks were fruitless any Japanese aggression would occur in the Far East.

The Knox report triggered no fewer than eight separate commissions or official inquiries into the circumstances surrounding the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. The most prominent of these inquiries was the Roberts Commission, chaired by Supreme Court Justice Owen J Roberts, which convened in late December 1941, and presented its findings to Congress on 28 January 1942.

Despite the fact that Kimmel and Short were both kept in the dark concerning the latest intelligence available on Japan's potentially belligerent intentions and that atmospheric disturbances had interfered with the delivery of an urgent warning from Army Chief of Staff General George C Marshall on the very morning of the attack, there was ample evidence for the Roberts Commission to conclude that Kimmel and Short should have maintained greater vigilance.

Short, for example, had feared sabotage more than a direct enemy attack and ordered planes at Army Air Corps bases parked wingtip to wingtip rather than in earthen

revetments or dispersed across their respective airfields. The Roberts Commission found both Kimmel and Short guilty of dereliction of duty. The two officers were forced into retirement and spent the remainder of their lives attempting to clear their names.

In retrospect, historians have consistently labelled these senior officers as "scapegoats." True enough, intelligence had been withheld in the interest of maintaining as top secret the knowledge that American cryptanalysts were reading some very confidential Japanese communications.

Other senior American officers, General Marshall among them, had reputations to protect as well. Nearly 60 years after the attack on Pearl Harbor, both Kimmel and Short were exonerated of culpability – they were long dead, but the eventual historical verdict was some consolation to their families.

While the Japanese people heartily celebrated the victory of their naval air forces at Pearl Harbor, at least one high-ranking officer maintained a starkly realistic view of the struggles that the coming conflict for supremacy in the Pacific would bring.

Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, the architect of the Pearl Harbor attack and chief of the Combined Fleet, had reluctantly acquiesced in going to war with the United States. In January 1942, he reportedly wrote to a fellow officer whom he considered overly optimistic.

In his letter, Yamamoto mused on the topic that "A military man can scarcely pride himself on having smitten a sleeping enemy. It is more a matter of shame, simply, for the one smitten. I would rather you made your appraisal after seeing what the enemy does, since it is certain that, angered and outraged, he will soon launch a determined counterattack."

BELOW New recruits take their service oath as they are processed into the US Army. After Pearl Harbor, recruitment numbers soared.



AMERICAN CITIZENS INTERNED

On 19 February 1942, President Franklin D Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. Just weeks earlier, Japanese forces had shattered American military facilities and naval might at Pearl Harbor on the Hawaiian island of Oahu, and these were extraordinary times.

The nation was at war, and Roosevelt's order, in the name of national security but nevertheless tinged with a degree of racism, authorised the rounding up and internment of at least 100,000 residents of the western United States who were of Japanese ancestry. Forced to relinquish their homes and businesses, entire families, 62 per cent of them American citizens, were relocated to camps in the country's interior.

The relocations began in the spring of 1942, and ten major camps were constructed in California, Utah, Idaho, Arizona, Wyoming, Colorado, and Arkansas. While several held approximately 10,000 internees, the largest were at Tule Lake, California, where nearly 19,000 people were resettled, and Poston, Arizona, the temporary home for 17,814. Among the internees, the vast majority were American-born, second-generation Nisei or third-generation Sansei. The remainder were Issei, born in Japan and residing in the US, barred by law from obtaining citizenship.

Curiously, while many believed the greatest continuing threat to national security was in Hawaii, fewer than 2,000 of the roughly 150,000 Japanese Americans living in the islands were interned. No internment order was issued for Americans with familial ties to European nations at war with the US.

Despite lingering bitterness, some male internees did end up volunteering for the US Army, serving with the 100th Infantry Battalion, previously a unit of the Hawaiian National Guard, and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, which gained a reputation for combat prowess, emerging from World War II the most highly decorated unit of its size in the Army.

Both during and after the internment of Japanese Americans, courts weighed the constitutionality of the mandate. Within months of war's end, the camps and detention facilities were closed. However, compensation for internees was not immediately forthcoming.

In 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act, formally apologising to those displaced and authorising payment of \$20,000 to any still living. Eventually, the government paid approximately \$1.6 billion in reparations.



DRAFT NO. 1

December 7, 1941.

EXCERPTED MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in ~~infamy~~ ^{infamy} the United States of America was ~~suddenly~~ ^{suddenly} and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at the moment at peace with that nation and was ~~conducting~~ ^{still in} conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in ~~Oahu~~ ^{Oahu}

the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a ~~former~~ ^{recent} message, ~~in which~~ ^{in which}

~~While~~ ^{While} ~~this reply contained~~ ^{stated} that diplomatic negotiations ~~must be considered~~ ^{it} contained no threat ~~of~~ ^{or} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~attack.~~ ^{attack.}

It will be recorded that the distance ~~between~~ ^{between} of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the ~~attack~~ ^{attack} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~deliberately~~ ^{deliberately} ~~planned~~ ^{planned} many days ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

8 December, 1941

SPEECH NOTES

Draft of President Roosevelt's address to Congress following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor including Roosevelt's own handwritten amendments. He changed "a date which will live in world history" to "a date which will live in infamy", the phrase that made the speech famous.

DRAFT NO. 1

-2-

The attack yesterday on ~~Hawaii~~ ^{the Hawaiian Islands} ~~on the island of Oahu~~ ^{has} caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ~~ships~~ ^{ships} have been torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

~~The~~ ^{It} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~now~~ ^{now} ~~known~~ ^{known} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Japanese~~ ^{Japanese} ~~Government~~ ^{Government} ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~therefore~~ ^{therefore} ~~undertaken~~ ^{undertaken} ~~a~~ ^a ~~surprise~~ ^{surprise} ~~offensive~~ ^{offensive} ~~against~~ ^{against} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~United~~ ^{United} ~~States~~ ^{States} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~other~~ ^{other} ~~parts~~ ^{parts} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Pacific~~ ^{Pacific} ~~area.~~ ^{area.} The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications ~~of~~ ^{to} ~~of~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~attack~~ ^{attack} ~~on~~ ^{on} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~safety~~ ^{safety} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~our~~ ^{our} ~~nation.~~ ^{nation.}

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Long will we remember the character of the onslaught against us.

(A) No matter how long it takes, the American people will in their righteous might win through to absolute victory.

8 December 1941

TELEGRAM

Telegram sent from the Commander-in-Chief
Pacific Area to all American naval units alerting
them to the Japanese attack on the main US naval
base in Hawaii.

PSNY 3-7-41 20M

Original

U.S. NAVAL AIR STATION, KODIAK, ALASKA
NAVAL COMMUNICATIONS

Heading REF ID: A5 F L 2 FSL 07230 302 TARI U 31

From: CINCPAC

Date 7 DEC 41

To: ALL SHIPS PRESENT AT HAWAIIAN AREA.

Info: - U R G E N T -

DEFERRED unless otherwise checked

ROUTINE.....

PRIORITY.....

AIRMAIL.....

MAILGRAM

AIRRAID ON REARLHARBOR X THIS IS NO DRILL

RM 58 1910 7DEC

07014

Comdg Off	Exec	Comm	Oper	Supply	Disb	Med'l	Aerog	Pers	Pub Wks	Mar Det	A & R	Files	FAD	NRAB	OOD	WDO
<i>[Signature]</i>																

A-Denotes action

I-Denotes information

X-Denotes copy only

PEARL HARBOR AS HISTORY

UNITED STATES
MARINE CORPS

The legacy of the Japanese attack on 7 December 1941 resonates today, but in a wider context after 75 years

WORDS MICHAEL HASKEW

TO THE MEMORY OF THE GALLANT MEN
HERE BURIED AND THEIR SHIPMATES
WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN ACTION
ON 7. 1941 ON THE U.S.S. ARIZONA



On 31 December 2011, the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association, founded in 1958, officially disbanded. There were several reasons for the organisation to cease activities 70 years after the event that provided its *raison d'être* occurred.

At the age of 87, George Bennett, a 17-year-old US Navy seaman on 7 December 1941, told CNN, "We don't like to see it happen, but we don't have young members coming in like other organisations." Although social events and informal get-togethers were expected to continue, they would never again be conducted under the auspices of the association whose numbers had dwindled to fewer than 3,000 aged members in rapidly declining health.

Bennett's sombre statement is symptomatic of the inevitable passage of time and also reflective of the United States' collective memory, evolving through the decades with the broader context of World War II in the Pacific and later events that occurred during the second half of a violent 20th century. In the wake of Pearl Harbor, resolute Americans banged the war drum loudly. It was

easy to oppose the treachery, mourn the dead, and even exploit an undercurrent of racism against the Japanese.

In the short term, Pearl Harbor was viewed as a singular event, standing alone and apart. However, the lens of history has broadened the American perspective on that terrible day. Perhaps its greatest lesson has always been that of maintaining eternal vigilance against another "sneak" attack, but the horror of September 11, 2001, calls into question just how well that lesson has been learned.

For years after the attack, survivors addressed school groups and civic clubs across the country. Parades were held. Politicians made patriotic speeches, and National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day was marked on calendars. While some of these traditions continue today, there is little remaining vestige of the fervour with which 7 December 1941 was remembered in the past.

Indeed, concerns ripple among observers that the American public, particularly those of younger generations, would be hard-pressed if stopped on the street and asked their opinion about that long ago

ABOVE At the USS Arizona Memorial, a Pearl Harbor survivor reads the names of those lost during the Japanese attack

Sunday morning in Hawaii. Living in the shadow of September 11 and an age in which social media and technology pervade their existence, Generation X and Generation Y may well be far removed from the patriotic ardour of their grandparents and great grandparents that is conjured up with the utterance of the words "Pearl Harbor."

Nevertheless, each year more than two million people visit the venues on the island of Oahu that commemorate the attack. Regardless of the passage of time, the caretakers of Pearl Harbor's tragic day remember, revere, and honour the fallen and their sacrifice. Monuments small and large dot the island, some of them quite subtle. Bomb craters, long ago filled in, and bullet holes in the facades of buildings remain.

Many of the dead of 7 December are buried in the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific, commonly referred to as the "Punchbowl." For those visitors, the task of finding relevance for Pearl Harbor three-quarters of a century later is dramatically simplified.

REMEMBRANCE

The most familiar monument to the Pearl Harbor attack is the USS Arizona Memorial, a 184-foot long white marble structure designed by architect Alfred Preis that straddles the hull of the sunken battleship but does not touch it. Depressed in its centre, the ends of the memorial are upswept, symbolic of victory. The remains of more than 1,100 Americans lie in the rusting hull, and droplets of oil continue to seep from its fuel bunkers, staining the harbour waters with fleeting rainbows.

Plans for a lasting tribute began in earnest in 1950, as Admiral Arthur Radford, commander of the Pacific Fleet, ordered the American flag to be flown from a small platform that had been attached to the Arizona's hull. In 1958, Congress approved construction of the memorial "In honour and commemoration of the members of the Armed Forces of the United States who gave their lives to their country during the attack on Pearl Harbor".

Dedicated in 1962 at a cost of \$532,000, a portion of which was raised via a benefit concert performance by Elvis Presley, the memorial serves as a bridge across the forward section of the sunken ship. It includes three chambers, the entry and assembly rooms and shrine, where the names of those lost aboard the Arizona are etched along with the simple inscription, "To the Memory of the Gallant Men Here Entombed and their shipmates who gave their lives in action on 7 December 1941, on the USS. Arizona."

The battleship USS Missouri, on whose deck the Japanese signed the instrument of surrender in Tokyo Bay on 2 September 1945, is moored 500 yards distant.

For the people of Japan, Pearl Harbor's place in history is somewhat shrouded in the struggle to come to terms with the nation's militaristic past. For decades, political factions have debated the content of textbooks and the curriculum related to World War II that is taught to Japanese school children. Through the years the Japanese government has issued various apologies to

prisoners of war used as forced labour in their factories and to the families of "comfort women" kept as sex slaves for their troops. Images of atrocities committed against subjugated peoples and evidence presented during war crimes trials still haunt Japan.

Pearl Harbor, some Japanese traditionalists maintain, occurred at a time when Japan had already been at war in the Pacific since 1931. It marked America's entry into World War II rather than Japan's. American sanctions and other economic and diplomatic pressure had forced war upon Japan, they reason. There was no intent, they say, to attack the United States without warning. A series of unfortunate circumstances conspired to label the event as such. Further, it was the United States that unleashed the horror of nuclear war on Hiroshima, Nagasaki and the world with the atomic bomb.

TOP RIGHT The USS Arizona Memorial lies astride the battleship's wreckage as crewmen of the carrier USS Abraham Lincoln render honours

ABOVE Damage to the headquarters building at Hickam Field near Pearl Harbor remains as evidence of the 7 December 1941 attack's ferocity





INSET The USS Utah Memorial is a tribute to those who perished aboard the target battleship during the attack on Pearl Harbor

Others respond that the events leading to war with the United States were actually the consequence of Japanese imperialism, its alliance with Nazi Germany, and its misguided belief that its armed forces were invincible. The struggle for preeminence in the Pacific may have been unavoidable; however, Japanese aggression without doubt hastened its coming.

After World War II, the reality of the Cold War helped bring about a somewhat ironic reconstruction of Japan and a new era of friendship between the island nation and the United States. Staunch allies, the two countries continue to interpret their collective history in different ways, while many of the visitors to the USS Arizona Memorial are Japanese and floral tributes from prefectures across Japan are a common sight at the famous shrine.

The US National Park Service opened its Pearl Harbor Visitors Center in 1980, and from the beginning it was apparent that there would one day be a need for an expanded facility. On 7 December 2010, a new \$56 million centre was opened to the public. Scores of artefacts that had been previously locked away were placed on display, and interpretive exhibits began offering a tempered perspective on the events of 1941. Flickering newsreels of baseball great Babe Ruth on tour in prewar Japan accompanied photos of Tokyo street scenes. Perhaps contemporary visitors are better able to grasp the reasons why Japan's leaders chose to go to war with the United States.

At the time of the opening, Daniel Martinez, the National Park Service's chief historian at Pearl Harbor, told the Associated Press that such a presentation



ABOVE The battleship USS Missouri lies moored a short distance from the USS Arizona Memorial in Pearl Harbor

had not been practical 30 years earlier. "It was just too recent," he reasoned. "The idea of exploration of history would have been found unsavoury by some of the Pearl Harbor survivors who were still dealing with the wounds of that war."

Realising that the original intent of the visitors centre was to memorialise the sacrifice and suffering of 7 December 1941, Martinez did not shy away from his belief that the time had come for an examination of the more complex issue of historical perspective. "We have to understand it," he commented. "Our former enemies are now our closest allies. So how do we reconcile that? Part of reconciling it is trying to tell the story as fair as we can and allow for those different perspectives to come in there so a broader understanding can take place."

CONTINUING RELEVANCE

While scholars acknowledge that Pearl Harbor is now more "history" than "current events," the fact remains that news items related to 7 December 1941 continue to appear with regularity. Recently, the remains of

several sailors entombed aboard the sunken battleship USS Oklahoma were identified. When their bodies were initially recovered during the salvage operations following the attack, the state of decomposition was such that they were interred in common graves, the stones bearing simple inscriptions such as "12 UNKNOWN USS OKLAHOMA PEARL HARBOR DECEMBER 7 1941." DNA testing has brought closure to numerous families.

Pearl Harbor echoes as a topic of fascination among professional and casual historians. Theory and conjecture collide, while debate surrounds every aspect of that extraordinary moment in time. It serves as the backdrop for films and television presentations – for one compelling reason – its drama is virtually unmatched in modern history.

The profound impact of Pearl Harbor lies in its shaping of the future and the universal acknowledgment that the world was forever changed because of it. In analysing the terrible waste and tragic loss of life at Pearl Harbor we also discover the iconic and clearly defined struggle between good and evil, the capacity to rise from the ashes of catastrophe to achieve victory, the opportunity perhaps to even forgive, foster greater understanding, and find friendship with a former foe.

Through the legacy of Pearl Harbor, then, something noble, profoundly influential, and fundamentally optimistic endures.



ABOVE Aging survivors of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor attend ceremonies commemorating the events of 7 December 1941

ARIZONA INTERMENTS

Since 1982, former crewmen of the battleship USS Arizona have been allowed by the US Navy upon their deaths to have their ashes interred aboard the ship where more than 1,100 of their comrades already lie. This honour is restricted to those who served aboard the Arizona on 7 December 1941.

By the autumn of 2011, only 18 of the 334 original Arizona survivors remained, and to date nearly 40 of their shipmates have chosen to be interred aboard the battleship's rusting hulk. The interment ceremony follows strict guidelines, and then US Navy divers place the urns of deceased veterans in the well of barrette number four, which decades ago housed the turret of one of Arizona's 14-inch main gun batteries.

Among those choosing interment aboard their former ship was Joe Langdell, who died in early 2015. At the time of his death, Langdell was 100 years old, the oldest living Arizona survivor. He had joined the Navy in 1940 and earned a commission as an ensign through its officers' training program. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Langdell was working with a Navy photographic unit on Ford Island attempting to improve the accuracy of naval gunnery. He spent the night of 6 December 1941, in officers' quarters on the island and was awakened the next morning by the sounds of bombs and torpedoes exploding in the harbor.

Langdell helped evacuate the wounded on that day and later participated in the recovery effort for the bodies of some of Arizona's dead.

He served gallantly for the duration of World War II and returned to Pearl Harbor in 1976 to visit a son, who was then in the Navy. After returning to his home in California, Langdell later became active with the USS Arizona Reunion Association, served as its president, and organised meetings and a number of subsequent visits to the USS Arizona Memorial.

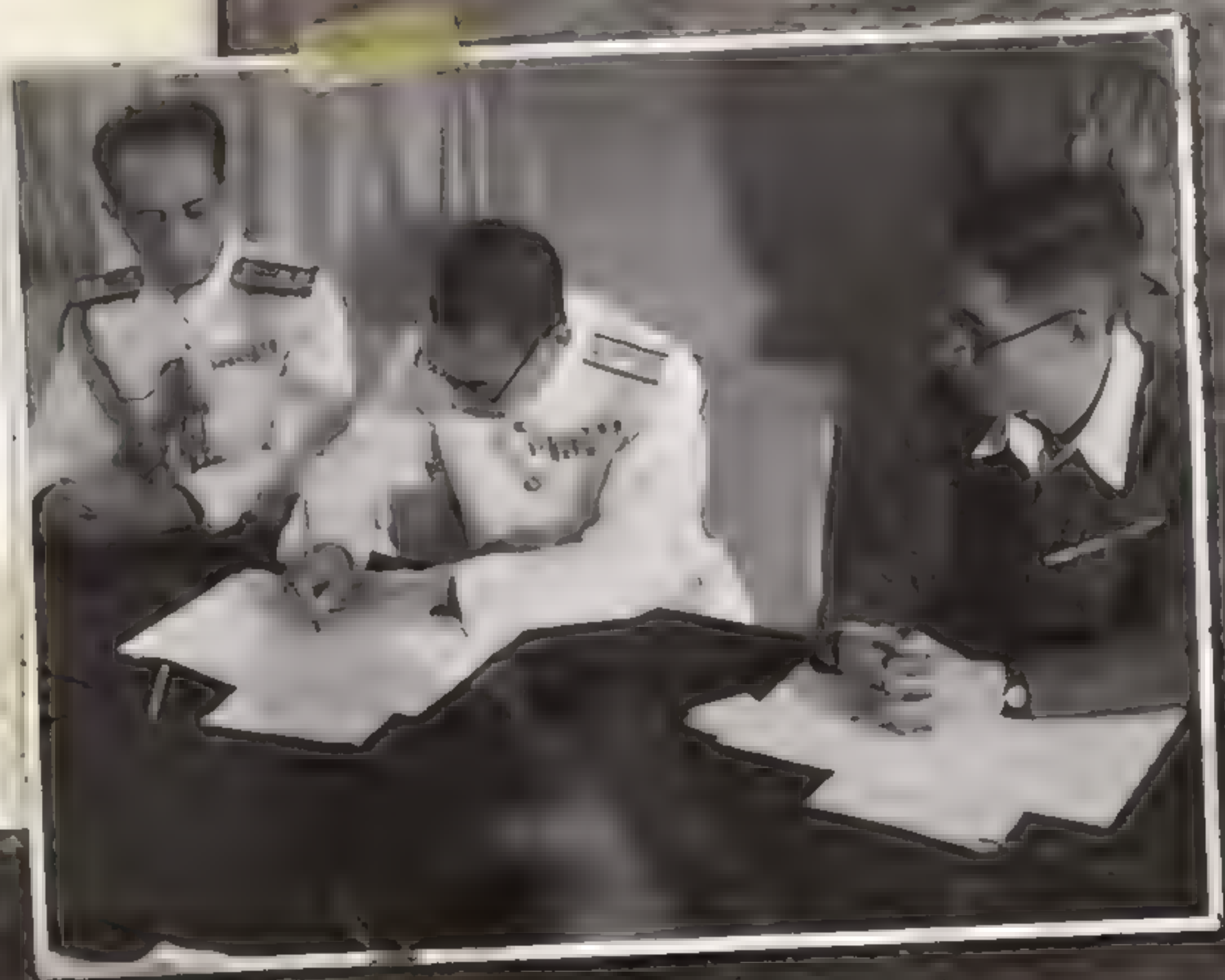
Interred aboard the Arizona on 4 February 2015, Langdell was a proud survivor of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Survivors of the sinking of the old target battleship USS Utah are also permitted to have their ashes interred aboard their ship, and those who were on station elsewhere at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, have the option of their ashes being scattered across the harbour.



WAR IN THE PACIFIC

FROM PEARL HARBOR TO HIROSHIMA, FOLLOW THE DEADLY ACTION OF THE PACIFIC THEATRE

- 76** Blitzkrieg in Asia
- 78** Corregidor: Fall of the Philippines
- 80** Operations map 1942
- 82** The Battle of Coral Sea
- 86** The Battle of Midway
- 88** Battle for the Solomons
- 92** Guadalcanal
- 94** Operations map 1943
- 96** Operation Cartwheel: War for New Guinea
- 98** Island hopping in the Pacific: Gilbert and Marshall Islands
- 106** Operations map 1944
- 108** The Marianas: Defence to the death
- 110** Battle of the Philippine Sea
- 112** The Battle of Peleliu
- 116** Return to the Philippines
- 118** The Battle of Leyte Gulf
- 120** Operations map 1945
- 122** Iwo Jima
- 128** The firebombing of Tokyo
- 130** Okinawa
- 132** The atomic bombs
- 134** The Japanese surrender
- 138** What if Japan had not struck Pearl Harbor?







8 DECEMBER 1941-
11 MAY 1942

BLITZKRIEG IN ASIA



The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was planned to coincide with a number of complex and daring operations to seize Southeast Asia, the East Indies and a string of small islands in the western Pacific to secure supplies of oil, rubber, tin and other minerals, and to discourage the British and American governments from attempting the difficult and expensive task of recapturing the new southern zone of the Japanese Empire. Within four months the vast area of the European powers' empires in the Far East was under Japanese rule.

On 7 December, a Japanese seaborne striking force under General Tomoyuki Yamashita assembled in the Gulf of Siam, destined the following day to occupy the Kra Isthmus in southern Thailand and to assault the British airfields in northern Malaya. Other strike forces prepared to seize Hong Kong, assault the Philippines, and then conquer the British and Dutch possessions in the East Indies. The campaign was an extraordinary success. In Malaya Yamashita commanded around 60,000 men, but defeated a British Empire force more than twice as large. The attempt by the Allied army to hold up the Japanese advance was half-hearted at best. By 9 January, the Japanese were almost at the Malayan capital of Kuala Lumpur. Adept at jungle warfare and tactics of infiltration, the Japanese army proved an irresistible force against a poorly prepared enemy with limited air power. By 31 January, Malaya had been abandoned and the British forces were withdrawn to the island of Singapore.

Japanese progress in the Philippines was less spectacular. The northernmost island of Batan was occupied on 8 December and the main island of Luzon assaulted by seaborne forces two days later. Further out in the Pacific, small islands were seized to prevent any threat from the central ocean area. The US base at Guam was occupied on 10 December.



ABOVE Japanese forces were among the first to master effective combined operations. Here Japanese soldiers haul an artillery piece onto the shore from the landing boats during one of many similar operations in the early weeks of 1942

TOP RIGHT Badge of the 11th Indian Infantry Division, which eventually surrendered to the Japanese when Singapore fell on 15 February 1942

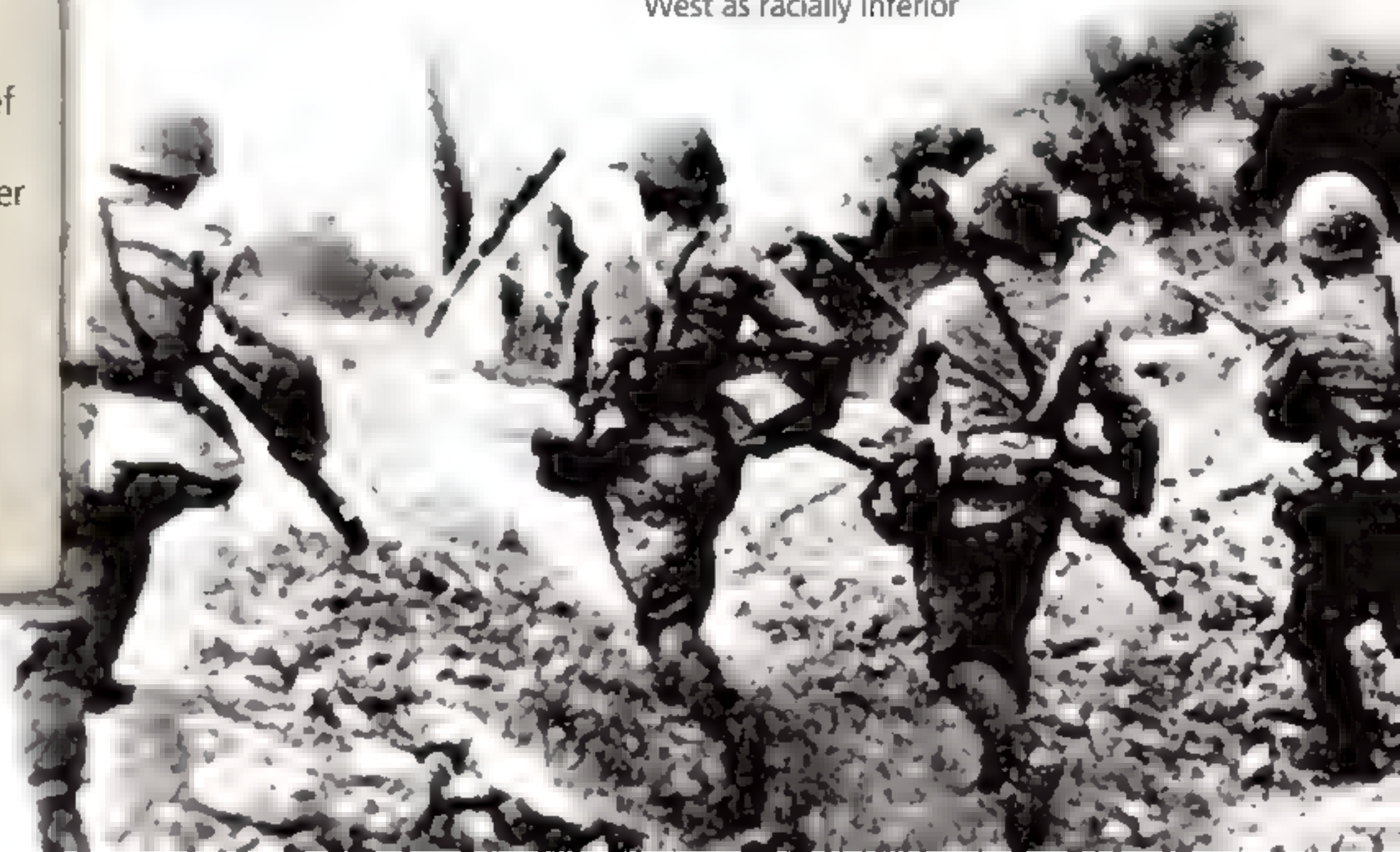


ABOVE Burning oil stocks after a Japanese air attack on Dutch bases in the Dutch East Indies during the three-month campaign for the archipelago. The oil of the region was one of the chief factors encouraging the Japanese attack

BELOW Japanese soldiers of General Yamashita's force storm a British-held village during the rapid conquest of Malaya. In seven weeks a larger British Empire and Commonwealth force was relentlessly driven back by an army whose soldiers were regarded in the West as racially inferior

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR (1880-1964)

MacArthur was born into an upper-class American family, the son of a soldier. He was an outstanding officer cadet, scoring the highest marks ever achieved at the military academy at West Point. At the end of the First World War, he was already a brigadier general. In 1930, he served as Army Chief of Staff, and in 1935 went as military adviser to the Philippines, where he retired from the American army to become a Philippines field marshal. In July 1941, Roosevelt made him commander of US forces in the Far East, and he organized the defence of the Philippines against Japanese assault. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief South West Pacific Area in April 1942, and despite his reputation for flamboyance and self-promotion, became an inspirational leader of men. After recapturing the Philippines in 1945, he was made commander-in-chief of all US army forces in the Pacific. He became Supreme Commander Allied Powers in the post-war administration of Japan and played a key part in Japan's democratic reconstruction. He was finally relieved of command in April 1951 following arguments with President Truman over policy on the Korean War.





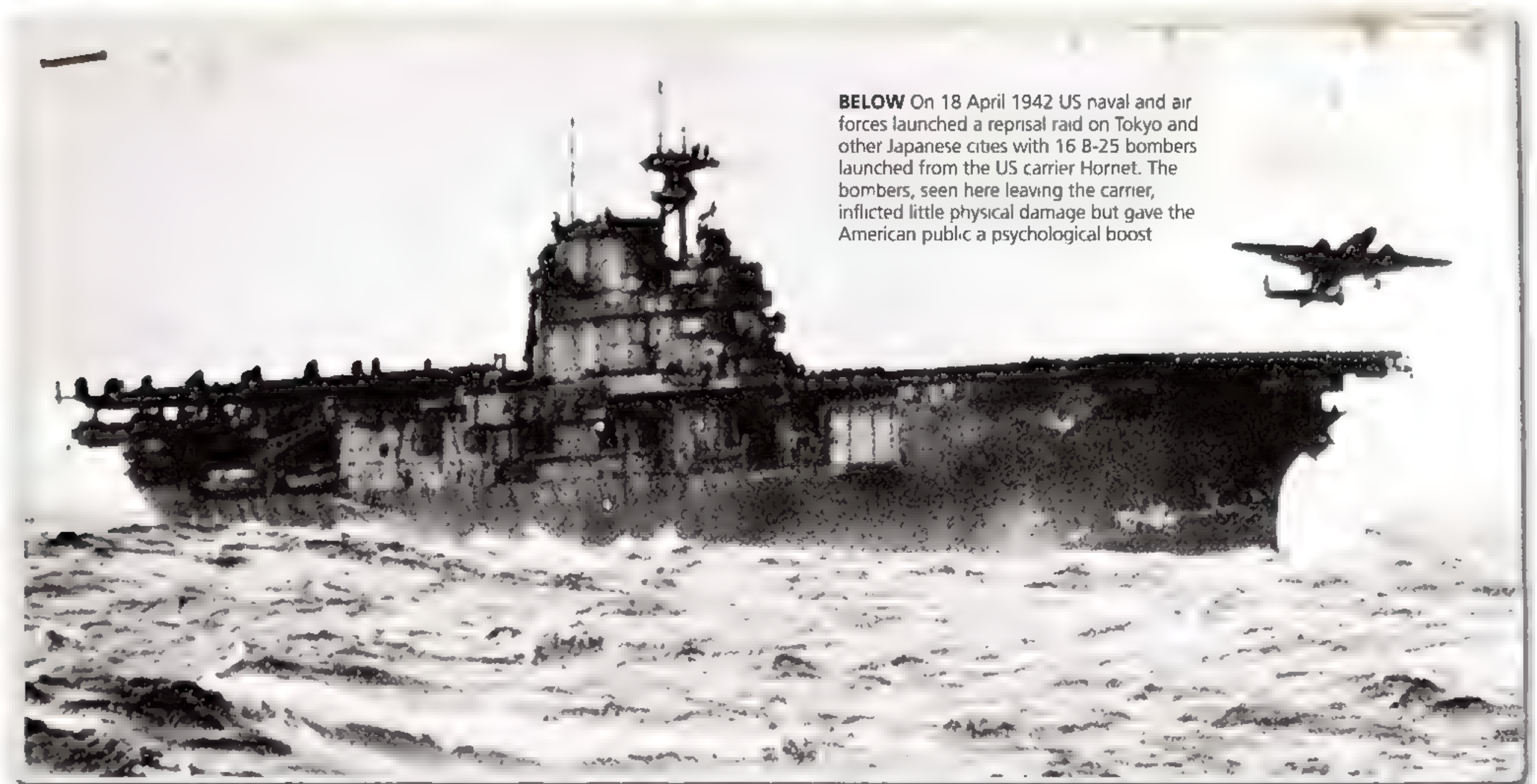
LEFT British prisoners being marched into captivity in the British colony of Hong Kong following a brief resistance in December 1941. Thousands of British and Empire prisoners perished in Japanese camps and labour service during the war

The garrison on Wake Island resisted the first Japanese attack on 11 December, but succumbed to a larger air and sea assault 12 days later. The attack on the East Indies, defended by Dutch, British, Australian and colonial troops, began a week later on 15 December with landings on the island of Borneo. In a daring series of combined operations the Japanese army overran the archipelago, targeting airfields and oil installations. One branch of the assault moved southeast to capture the British Solomon Islands. Admiral Takahashi's task force concentrated on driving through the central zone, taking Bali on 19 February and Timor the next day. The capital of the Dutch East Indies, Batavia (Jakarta), was captured on 5 March. Japanese warships and aircraft hunted down surviving Allied shipping and destroyed it, though some Allied force was evacuated to Australia from Java, harried by Japanese aircraft. On 19 February, to underline the Japanese success, bomber aircraft destroyed a large part of the Australian port of Darwin. The Dutch surrendered on 9 March, the rest of the Allies three days later.

Japanese plans worked almost like clockwork. There was no intention of creating a larger campaign area than their limited forces could protect and so the remainder of Australia was safe for the present. In the Indian Ocean the British naval presence, weakened by the sinking of HMS Prince of Wales and HMS Repulse on 10 December, was challenged by a daring raid led by Vice Admiral Nagumo, whose task force attacked Colombo in Ceylon on 5 April 1942, then the naval base at Trincomalee, sinking four warships, including the carrier Hermes, the first to be sunk by carrier aircraft. There was no intention at this point of extending the Japanese Empire into the Indian Ocean area; rather the aim was simply to undermine the delicate British political position in southern Asia and to warn Britain to stay at arm's length from the new Japanese Empire, a formidable new power that had been established across thousands of miles in the space of little more than four months.



ABOVE The aftermath of the Japanese air raid on the northern Australian port of Darwin on 19 February 1942. The raid, carried out by 242 bombers and fighters, mostly carrier-borne, was designed to disrupt Allied communications, and killed over 200 Australians



BELOW On 18 April 1942 US naval and air forces launched a reprisal raid on Tokyo and other Japanese cities with 16 B-25 bombers launched from the US carrier Hornet. The bombers, seen here leaving the carrier, inflicted little physical damage but gave the American public a psychological boost

5-6 MAY 1942

CORREGIDOR: FALL OF THE PHILIPPINES

The only major United States presence in the western Pacific was in the Philippines, an island group south of Formosa (Taiwan) which had been taken over by the United States after the Spanish-American war of 1898, but which by 1941 enjoyed a semi-autonomous status under American supervision. The island group lay directly in the path of the Japanese assault on the oil and raw-material riches of Malaya and the East Indies. The Japanese planned to capture it within 50 days of the sustained air attacks on 8 December which signalled the start of their campaign. The forces opposed to the Japanese 14th Army under Lieutenant General Homma were a mixture of recently arrived American soldiers, some 30,000 strong, and five divisions of the poorly resourced Filipino army, numbering 110,000 men. The garrisons were scattered around the many islands of the archipelago, with the largest concentration on the island of Luzon. General MacArthur, the senior US commander, had tried to strengthen the air component of the Philippines defence, including the addition of 35 of the new B-17 "Flying Fortress" bombers, but the reinforcement of the region was not a high priority in Washington.

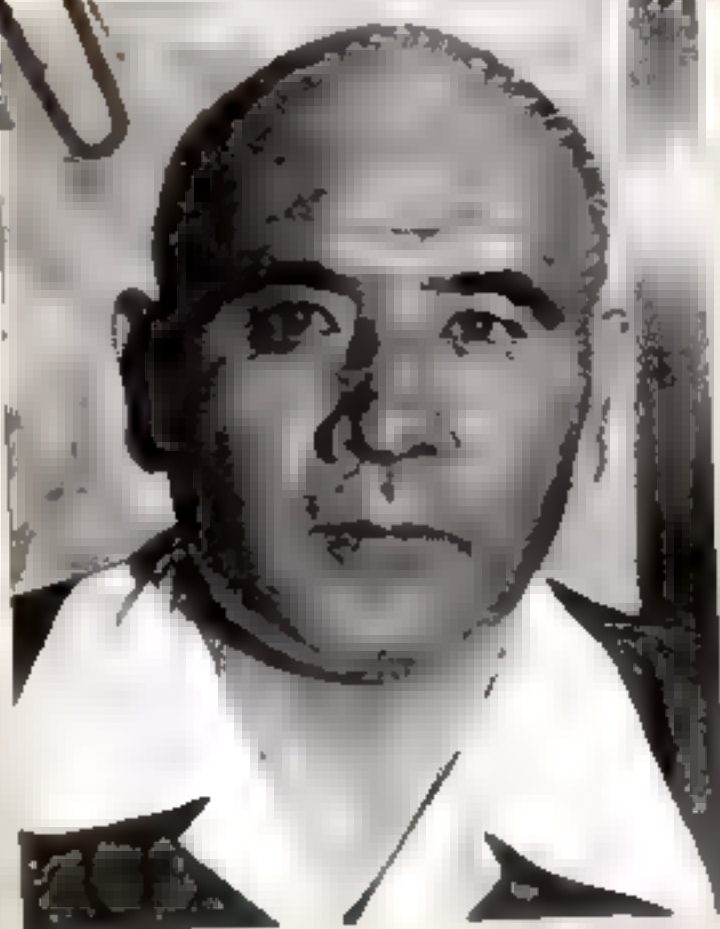
The surprise Japanese attack on 8 December was made from air bases in Formosa by specially trained pilots in aircraft modified to cope with the long cross-sea flight. The US aircraft on Luzon were almost all on the ground and undispersed. Half were destroyed in the first wave of attack, and more in the next two days. The battle for the Philippines was waged on the Allied side with no effective air power.



LEFT Badge of the US Philippines Division

GENERAL MASA HARU HOMMA (1888-1946)

A successful career officer, Lieutenant General Homma had more understanding of the West than most Japanese commanders. He was a military attaché in London for a total of eight years and was briefly attached to British forces on the Western Front in 1918. He participated in the Japanese-Chinese war as a major general, and, despite his outspoken fears of the risks run by Japan, was chosen to command the Japanese 14th Army for the invasion of the Philippines. By May, the conquest was complete but the long delay in clearing the islands and Homma's liberal reputation disappointed the army leadership in Tokyo and he held no further operational commands for the remainder of the war. He was tried and executed in 1946 for the many atrocities committed by the troops under his command.



ABOVE Manuel Quezon was the first elected president of the independent Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1935. He left the islands with MacArthur in March 1942, and led the Philippines government-in-exile in Washington, where he died in 1944

LEFT The besieged garrison in the fortress of Corregidor in the Malinta Tunnel. The room here houses the Signal Corps and the Finance Office. The fortress eventually held 11,000 men, who were forced to surrender on 6 May



ABOVE Japanese soldiers assault an American-held pillbox with flamethrowers in the bitter fighting in May 1942 on the Bataan peninsula on Luzon, largest of the Philippine islands



ABOVE A group of soldiers from the Filipino army surrender to the Japanese during the assault on the Philippines in the first months of 1942. The Filipino army comprised only a few divisions and although it fought back against the Japanese invaders alongside the American garrison, it was an unequal struggle

GENERAL JONATHAN WAINWRIGHT (1883–1953)

Trained as a cavalryman, Lieutenant General Wainwright served in the First World War and in the interwar years commanded cavalry units during the period of their transition to armoured warfare. In September 1940, he was made a major general and sent to command the Philippines Division, which he led at the start of the Japanese invasion. He was promoted to head the 1st Philippine Corps before being made overall commander-in-chief of forces in the Philippines after General MacArthur had left for Australia on 11 March 1942. He surrendered after the final struggle for the fortress of Corregidor and was imprisoned in Manchukuo, the Japanese puppet-state in Manchuria, where he was liberated by the Red Army in August 1945. He returned to a ticker-tape welcome in New York on 13 September 1945.

Japanese air superiority also compelled the commander of the US Asiatic Fleet, Admiral Thomas

Hart, to withdraw US naval shipping from the defence of Luzon. Small units of Japanese troops were landed over the following week, including a force on Mindanao, the main southern island in the group, where the air base at Davao was captured. On 22 December, the main body of Homma's force landed on either side of Luzon island in an attempt to encircle the enemy's forces around the capital, Manila. Bowing to reality, MacArthur ordered his forces to retreat to the Bataan peninsula on the southern flank of Manila Bay, and moved his headquarters to the island fortress of Corregidor at the seaward end of Bataan.

Although they were short of military supplies and food, the army units on Bataan greatly outnumbered Homma's force – which had totaled 43,000 at the start of the campaign – and they held up the conquest of the island for almost three months. High Japanese casualties and the withdrawal of a division to help in the conquest of the Netherlands East Indies forced Homma to halt and wear down the Filipino and American defenders by siege. By March, when MacArthur was ordered to leave the Philippines, it was evident to the defenders that there would be no aid or reinforcement. Lieutenant General Wainwright, who was given overall command by MacArthur following his own withdrawal to the safety of Australia,

kept up a spirited defence, but when Homma attacked with fresh troops on 3 April the front collapsed, and on 9 April Major General Edward King, commanding the forces on Bataan, surrendered. Some 78,000 Filipino and American soldiers and civilians were taken captive and forced to walk 65 miles (100 kilometres) across the peninsula. The Bataan Death March, as it came to be known, saw atrocities routinely committed against prisoners already debilitated by hunger and disease.

Around 2,000 soldiers had escaped to join the garrison in Corregidor and here Wainwright made his last stand with a total of 11,000 men. The system of deep tunnels under the fortress housed extensive stores and offered protection to the defenders. But relentless Japanese aerial and artillery bombardment destroyed almost everything on the surface, including most of the heavy guns, and on 5 May Homma's 4th Division landed on the fortress island itself. On 6 May, Wainwright surrendered to avoid further losses, and the following day announced the surrender of all forces throughout the Philippines. Fighting nonetheless continued as Japanese forces occupied all the outer islands. Some Filipinos escaped into the mountains to become guerrilla fighters. Forces on Negros only surrendered on 3 June and on Samar by 9 June, bringing the conquest of the islands to an end. By this time, almost the whole southern region was in Japanese hands.

RIGHT A Filipino guerrilla fighter, Amicedo Farola, June 1944. Some Filipino soldiers retreated to the mountains in 1942 where they kept up a limited resistance against the Japanese occupiers as members of the People's Anti-Japanese Army.

LEFT Japanese soldiers celebrate their victory against a numerically larger force on the Bataan peninsula. The long samurai sword was a standard piece of Japanese army equipment.





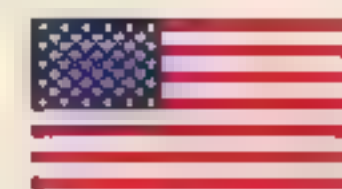
MONGOLIA

MANCHURIA

CHINA

KOREA

JAPAN



B-25 "Doolittle" air raid,
August 18, 1942

Tokyo

Kure

Nanking

Shanghai

OKINAWA

KONDO

Second Fleet

IWO JIMA

TANAKA

Midway
Occupation Force

MARIANA
ISLANDS

SAIPAN

GUAM

PALAU
ISLANDS

PELELIU



First outright defeat on Japanese
land forces at Milne Bay,
August 25–September 7, 1942

Hollandia

Rabaul

NEW GUINEA

Port Moresby



Darwin

AUSTRALIA

INDIAN OCEAN

DUTCH EAST INDIES

TIMOR

CELEBES

BORNEO

Batavia (Jakarta)

Singapore

MALAY STATES

FRENCH
INDO-
CHINA

Saigon

SIAM

Rangoon

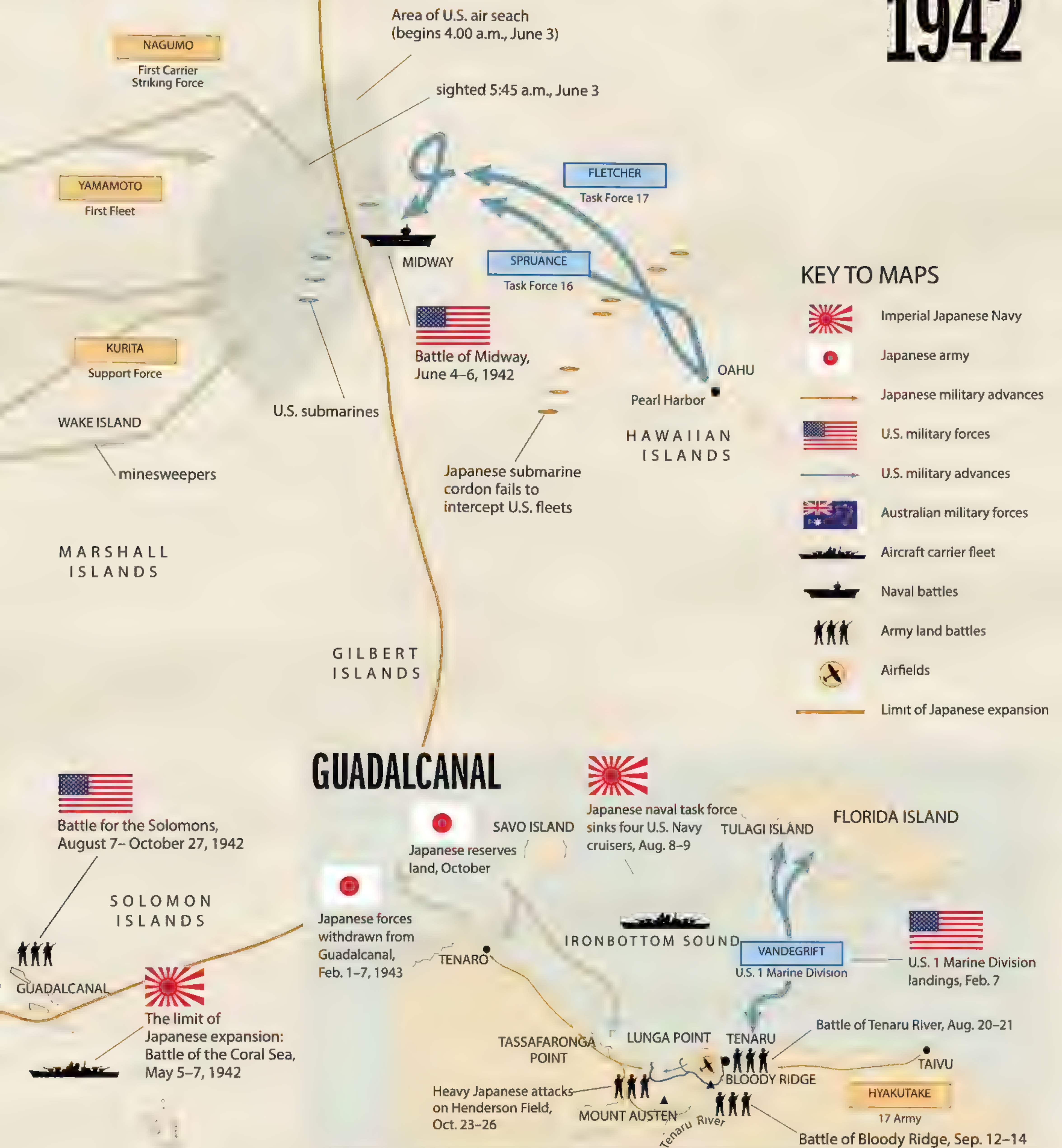
BURMA

FORMOSA

Hong Kong

PACIFIC OCEAN

PACIFIC THEATRE 1942



4-7 MAY 1942

THE BATTLE OF CORAL SEA

By early May 1942, Japan had almost accomplished the seizure of the southern region which had been planned for in 1941. The outer perimeter of the new imperial area was to be completed by the capture of the remaining southern part of the island of New Guinea, the islands of Malaita and Guadalcanal in the southern Solomons, and the outlying Nauru and Ocean Island. The decision to take these last outposts was made to ensure that Japanese naval and air forces could cut the supply line between the United States and Australia and end any remaining threat from the south. Admiral Yamamoto organized a task force in April under the command of Vice Admiral Shigeyoshi Inoue consisting of four separate elements: a force to seize Port Moresby and southeast New Guinea, a second to capture the Solomon Islands, where air bases were to be established, a third covering force and a carrier group around Shokaku and Zuikaku designed to engage and destroy any American naval units sent to the area. The plan was to be completed between 3 and 7 May.

Intelligence information warned Admiral Nimitz, who had recently taken over as commander of the Pacific Fleet, that a major Japanese force was moving south. He sent the US carriers Lexington and Yorktown, both unscathed from the Pearl Harbor attack, to rendezvous with an assortment of smaller Allied ships to form a task force to oppose the Japanese. The Allied force, commanded by Rear Admiral Frank Fletcher, arrived in the Coral Sea, bordered by the Great Barrier Reef, just as the Japanese began their assault on Tulagi. On 4 May aircraft from the Yorktown attacked but failed to repel the Japanese landing. Poor weather and visibility made it difficult for the two sides to find each other. Fletcher mistook the light force converging on Port Moresby for the main Japanese carrier units and sent his aircraft to intercept. They pounded and sank the light carrier Shoho on 7 May, after which the New Guinea task force turned back, anxious about the loss of air cover.



ABOVE The USS carrier Yorktown nears the Coral Sea, April 1942, photographed from a TBD-1 Torpedo plane that has just been launched from the carrier. A heavy cruiser, oiler and destroyer can be seen in the background

RIGHT Vice-Admiral Frank Fletcher who commanded the task force for the Coral Sea battle. Nicknamed "Black Jack", he had a reputation for excessive caution and was posted to the North Pacific in October 1942, away from the main action of the campaign



BELOW American navy torpedo aircraft attack the Japanese light carrier Shoho on 7 May 1942 during the Battle of the Coral Sea. The ship was the first Japanese carrier to be sunk and its loss forced the Japanese to abandon their attack on southern New Guinea

FLEET ADMIRAL CHESTER NIMITZ (1885-1966)

Born of German-American parents, Nimitz joined the US Navy in 1901 and rose to distinction in the interwar years as an expert on the new submarine arm. In 1938, he was promoted to vice admiral and the next year became Chief of the Bureau of Navigation. On 17 December 1941, he was chosen as commander-in-chief of the US Pacific Fleet with the rank of admiral, and set out to reverse the disaster of Pearl Harbor. He was made overall commander-in-chief of Allied forces in the Pacific Ocean in March 1942 and was responsible as fleet commander for the Coral Sea and Midway victories. His "island-hopping" strategy led to the isolation and defeat of Japanese garrisons in the central Pacific for which he was rewarded with the title of Fleet Admiral in December 1944. After the war he became Chief of Naval Operations, retiring from active duty in December 1947.





LEFT A Japanese Type 93 Long Lance torpedo. Japanese torpedoes were an advanced design and played an important part in securing Japanese domination of the western Pacific area



ABOVE Japanese Type 90 naval signal pistol



LEFT The USS carrier Lexington on fire after attack by Japanese carrier aircraft from Shokaku and Zuikaku on 8 May 1942. The carrier had to be sunk later that evening by a US navy destroyer

The Japanese carrier units, under the command of Rear Admiral Takeo Takagi, dispatched their aircraft despite poor conditions, but they failed to find the US fleet, sinking a tanker and a destroyer which they found stranded on their own. Some of the Japanese planes, at the end of their fuel supply, were attacked by American fighters, and some tried to land on Yorktown, which they finally located but mistook for their own. Only a fifth of the aircraft returned safely to their home carriers.

The following day both fleets found the other's carriers. Fletcher's naval aviators attacked Shokaku, and with just three bombs disabled the engine-repair shops and the flight deck, but failed to inflict any damage on Zuikaku. The two American carriers were both badly hit by the experienced Japanese crews, Lexington so severely that it had to be sunk by a US destroyer later that evening, but Takagi decided to withdraw after the loss of so many pilots and the battle came to an inconclusive end. The Battle of the Coral Sea, as it came to be known, was a confused engagement in which poor intelligence made it difficult for either side to fight to full effect. Nevertheless, the Allied fleet succeeded in turning back the invasion of New Guinea and held the Japanese advance at the



southern Solomons. Both Japanese carriers were forced to abandon the next part of Yamamoto's strategy to cut the trans-Pacific route at Midway Island and in the process to meet and destroy the US Pacific Fleet. The battle was above all a welcome relief for the Allies after months of remorseless Japanese advance.

ABOVE A destroyed Japanese Nakajima B5N5 Type 97 "Kate" bomber from the carrier Shokaku. Poor weather forced many Japanese aircraft to land in the sea when they were unable to find their home carrier and ran out of fuel

SECRET CODE

FROM GENERAL MARSHALL TO GENERAL MACARTHUR TO BE SEEN BY DECODING
CLERK ONLY colon

WITH REFERENCE TO THE RAPIDLY APPROACHING REORGANIZATION OF THE ABDA AREA

AND ALSO TO THE RATHER FAVORABLE REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN BATAAN IN YOUR

NO. 341 AS WELL AS YOUR NO. 344 REGARDING THE BUILD UP OF RESOURCES IN MINDANAO

colon THE PRESIDENT DIRECTS THAT YOU MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO LEAVE FORT MILLS

AND PROCEED TO MINDANAO stop YOU ARE DIRECTED TO MAKE THIS CHANGE AS QUICKLY

AS POSSIBLE stop

Par. THE PRESIDENT DESIRES THAT IN MINDANAO YOU TAKE SUCH MEASURES AS WILL

INSURE A PROLONGED DEFENSE OF THAT REGION dash THIS ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF

THE TRANSFER OF PRESIDENT QUEZON AND HIS GOVERNMENT TO THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

AND THE GREAT IMPORTANCE THE PRESIDENT ATTACHES TO THE FUTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES

BY PROLONGING IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE THE CONTINUANCE OF DEFENSE BY UNITED

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AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS FOR THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF YOU AS COMMANDER OF THE

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COMMAND IN AUSTRALIA AT AN EARLY DATE YOUR DELAY IN MINDANAO WILL NOT BE

PROLONGED BEYOND ONE WEEK AND YOU WILL LEAVE SOONER IF TRANSPORTATION

BECOMES AVAILABLE EARLIER stop

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED AUTH
Par 18 d, AR 380-5, 15 Nov 49, C2
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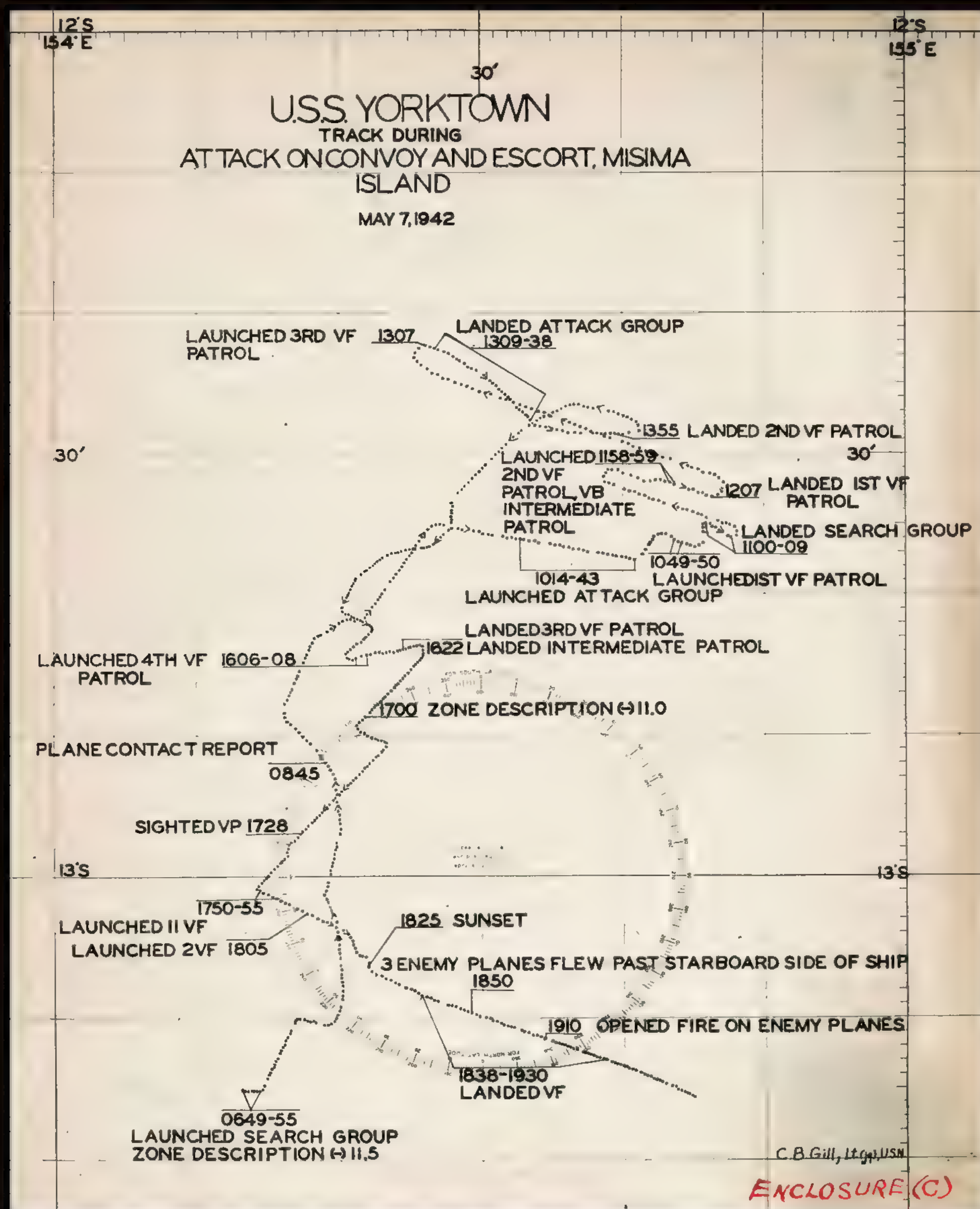
23 February 1942

DISPATCH TO GENERAL MACARTHUR

Order from the US Chief of Staff,
General Marshall, in Washington,
instructing General MacArthur to
abandon the Philippine Islands,
under attack by Japanese
forces for more than a month.
MacArthur left the islands
on 11 March and set up new
headquarters in Australia.

Page 2.

Par. INSTRUCTIONS WILL BE GIVEN FROM HERE AT YOUR REQUEST FOR THE MOVEMENT
OF SUBMARINE OR PLANE OR BOTH TO ENABLE YOU TO CARRY OUT THE FOREGOING
INSTRUCTIONS stop YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO TAKE WITH YOU YOUR CHIEF OF STAFF
GENERAL SUTHERLAND end *Marshall*



May 7, 1942

TRACK OF THE USS YORKTOWN

Track of the USS Yorktown recording the action as
 it launched an attack on Misima Island.

★ 4-5 JUNE 1942

THE BATTLE OF MIDWAY

The Japanese failure at the Battle of the Coral Sea confirmed the navy commander-in-chief, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, in his conviction that decisive action should be taken against the United States Pacific Fleet to prevent further American activity in the western Pacific area. The tiny island of Midway, lying between Hawaii and Japan, was chosen as the target, not because it was important in itself, but as the lure to obtain the decisive fleet engagement which would eradicate the American threat. Preparations for Operation "MI" began in early May, just before the Battle of the Coral Sea.

Midway was claimed by the United States in 1859, occupied in 1903 and finally turned into a small naval and flying-boat base in 1940. The naval force sent across the Pacific from Japan was vast for the invasion of a small island, but that was not its principal purpose. The Japanese fleet was divided into five attacking groups: a carrier strike force, the heart of the operation, under the command of Vice Admiral Nagumo; an occupation force for Midway; the main battle fleet of seven battleships, including Yamamoto's huge flagship, the 72,000-ton Yamato, designed to eliminate the American fleet; a diversionary force to capture two of the Aleutian Islands in the north; and finally a forward screen of submarines. The date for the attack on Midway was set for 5 June Japanese time, 4 June in the United States. Japanese intelligence on the United States carrier force was scanty, but it was assumed that the two remaining

RIGHT The aftermath of a Japanese diversionary attack on Dutch Harbor in the Aleutian Islands off Alaska on 3 June 1942. It was hoped that US naval vessels would be tempted north, leaving the way clear for the attack on Midway

BELOW US navy Dauntless dive-bombers attacking units of the Japanese fleet during the Battle of Midway. In the centre of the picture can be seen a burning Japanese cruiser, Mikuma, which had collided with another Japanese ship. The dive-bombers were responsible for the devastating damage suffered during the battle by the four Japanese carriers



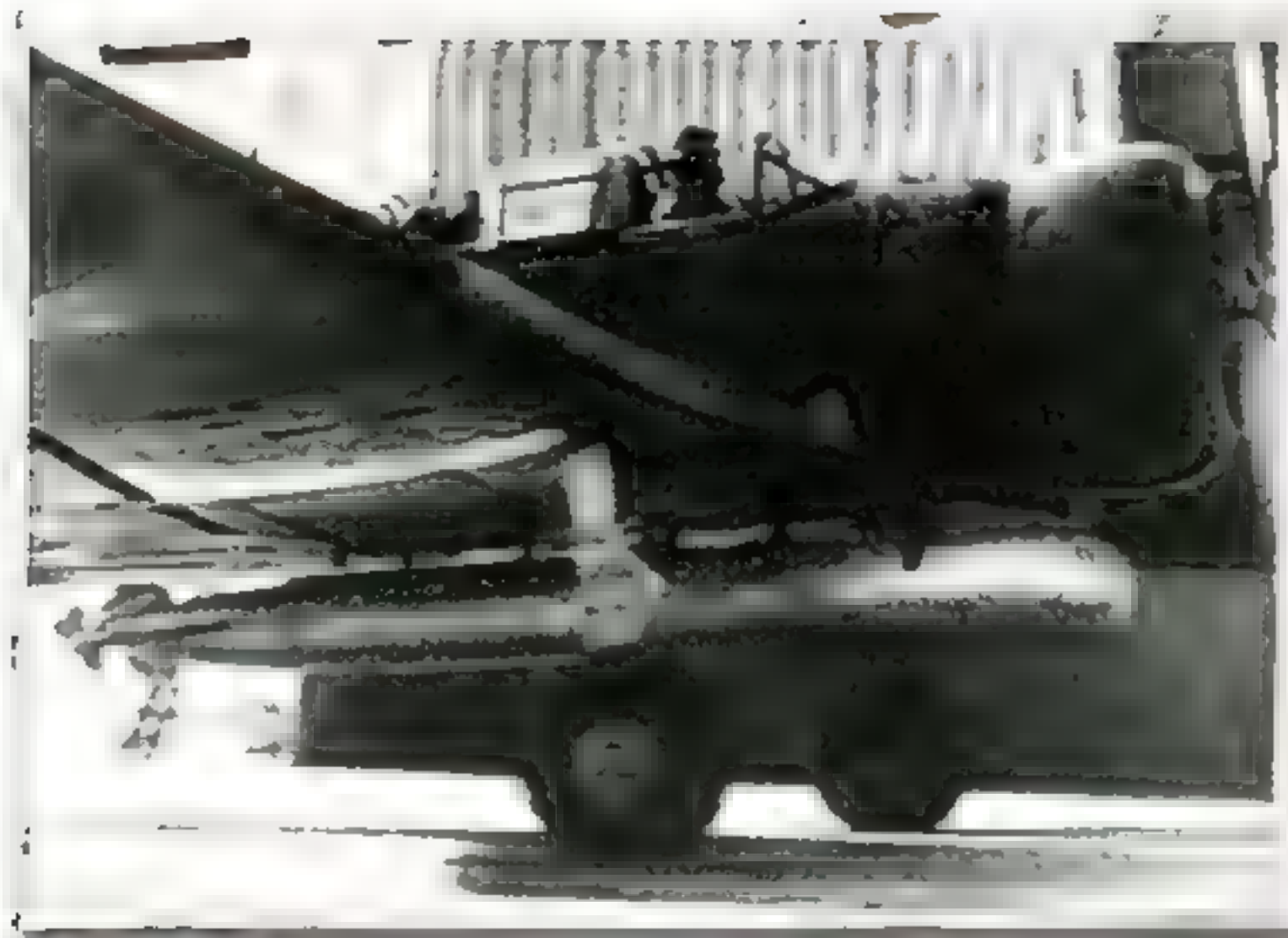
ADMIRAL RAYMOND A SPRUANCE (1886-1969)

Admiral Spruance became a career naval officer before the First World War and by 1940 was commander of the Caribbean Sea Frontier. After the attack on Pearl Harbor he commanded Cruiser Squadron Five in the Pacific under command of Admiral William Halsey. Spruance – nicknamed "electric brain" – had a reputation for a sharp mind and cool temperament. When Halsey fell ill in May 1942, he recommended Spruance should control his carrier task force for the Battle of Midway. After the engagement he became Nimitz's chief-of-staff and in mid-1943 was appointed to command the Central Pacific Force which captured Iwo Jima and Okinawa. He succeeded Nimitz as commander of the Pacific Fleet in late 1945, and then became President of the Naval War College until his retirement in 1948. Between 1952 and 1955 he was US ambassador in the Philippines.



LEFT Shoulder title of a warrant officer in the Japanese navy

ABOVE Blazing oil tanks on Midway Island during the Japanese operation on 4 June. Despite Japanese air attacks, torpedo-bombers from the USS carrier Hornet were able to land and refuel on the island during the battle



ABOVE A Japanese torpedo-bomber takes off from the deck of a Japanese carrier. Although Japanese pilots were highly trained, during the Battle of Midway almost three-quarters of carrier pilots were killed or injured

CAPTAIN JOSEPH ROCHEFORT (1898–1976)

Captain Rochefort was one of the leading American experts on cryptanalysis. He joined the US navy in 1918, was trained in code-breaking and learned fluent Japanese. His wide intelligence experience led to his appointment early in 1941 to head the radio intercept office at Pearl Harbor. Here he assembled a large team of cryptanalysts and linguists who made it their task to break the Japanese naval code JN-25. During the early part of 1942 they succeeded in breaking the complicated cipher mechanism and could read some of the messages, although dates proved difficult. This intelligence information – known, like its European counterpart, as ULTRA – was vital for the Battle of Midway. The dating system was finally broken in May and Rochefort's unit provided the vital intelligence needed for the coming battle. From 1942 to 1946 he was in Washington as head of the Pacific Strategic Intelligence Group, and he retired in 1946.



carriers after the Battle of the Coral Sea were far away to the south, protecting Australia.

This was the first of the Japanese miscalculations. Nimitz had two carriers, Hornet and Enterprise, and thanks to an extraordinary technical feat of repair, the damaged Yorktown was also available by 31 May. The force was placed under the overall command of Admiral Fletcher, and the carriers placed under Rear Admiral Raymond Spruance. Against the Japanese four carriers, seven battleships, 12 cruisers and 44 destroyers, the Americans could muster only three carriers, eight cruisers and 15 destroyers. The one solid advantage enjoyed by the American side was intelligence, and without it the battle could not have been fought and won. The Fleet Radio Unit Pacific at Pearl Harbor could decode and decipher the Japanese main code, JN-25, and knew by 21 May that Operation "MI" meant Midway. A few days later, the exact time for the attack on Midway and the Aleutians was also known. The American strategy was to sail the small carrier force northeast of Midway, out of range of Japanese search aircraft and submarines. Once the Japanese units had been identified by aircraft from Midway, the plan was to assault them with waves of torpedo- and dive-bombers but at all costs to avoid the big fleet engagement sought by Yamamoto.

The battle represented a great risk for the American side, heavily outnumbered in ships and aircraft, but the failure of Japanese reconnaissance to detect Spruance's force until well after the attack on Midway had begun left the Japanese carriers exposed to a dangerous counter-

attack as their aircraft were refuelled and rearmed on deck. The American torpedo-bombers were too slow and the force was decimated, but around 50 Dauntless dive-bombers, undetected by the Japanese, dropped enough bombs onto the carriers' crowded decks to create havoc. By early next morning all four Japanese fleet carriers, Hiryu, Kaga, Soryu and Nagumo's flagship, Akagi, were sunk. Yamamoto ordered his battleships forward to destroy the enemy but in thick fog they could not be found, and without air cover the ships faced a great risk. Yorktown was damaged by aircraft, and sunk by a submarine three days later, but the great fleet engagement eluded the Japanese. The American victory was decisive, and it was achieved in a battle conducted and won by aircraft from two carrier forces that never even sighted each other. Senior Japanese commanders later admitted that this was the turning point in Japan's war effort. In 1943 and 1944, Japanese shipyards turned out another seven aircraft carriers, the United States built 90. The death and injury of 70 per cent of Japan's highly trained naval pilots was never satisfactorily made good.

BELOW The Japanese cruiser Mikuma on fire after attack by aircraft from the USS carrier Enterprise on 6 June 1942. Despite continued American attacks, the cruiser was the only major casualty apart from the four Japanese carriers

BELOW LEFT The US aircraft carrier Yorktown was hit by Japanese torpedo-bombers in two attacks on 4 June 1942. Listing badly, the carrier ultimately had to be abandoned



★ 7 AUGUST-
21 OCTOBER 1942

BATTLE FOR THE SOLOMONS



After the Battle of Midway the Japanese continued with their plan to interrupt communications between the United States and the South Pacific by taking over a string of island bases east of New Guinea. At the southern end of the Solomon Islands group, on Guadalcanal, they landed a small force to construct an airfield, while they planned to use the nearby island of Tulagi as a small southern naval base. Allied intelligence on Japanese moves encouraged the decision to launch a pre-emptive attack on Tulagi and Guadalcanal with the object of neutralising the Japanese threat to supply lines and breaching the perimeter of the southern area of their advance. Vice Admiral Frank Fletcher commanded the US naval force that arrived on 7 August, transporting 19,000 men of the 1st Marine Division under Major General Alexander Vandegrift. The landings on Guadalcanal resulted in the rapid seizure of the Japanese airfield at Lunga, while after two days of hard fighting the port of Tulagi was captured. The Japanese command, based further to the north in the New Britain port of Rabaul, reacted at once and Guadalcanal, a small tropical island covered with inhospitable jungle, became, like Midway, a battle over the limit of Japanese advance.

On the night of 8-9 August, a Japanese naval task force of seven cruisers arrived off Savo Island, in the strait

ABOVE A group of US Marines landing in the Solomons during the assault on Guadalcanal leap from their boat and head for the shelter of the jungle rim. Beach assaults were the only way to gain a foothold in the long haul to drive the Japanese from their island fortresses

TOP RIGHT Marine troops on Guadalcanal employ a 3-inch (75mm) howitzer artillery piece to bombard a Japanese position on the island

between Lunga and Tulagi, where it sank four cruisers and damaged two more. Fletcher withdrew his carrier force, and over the next two weeks Japanese troops of the 17th Army under Lieutenant General Haruyoshi Hyakutake began to land on Guadalcanal. Although short of supplies and air support, the Marine force at what had been renamed by the Americans Henderson Field was able to repel the first Japanese attack by 21 August in the Battle of the Tenaru River. Japanese tactics were crude and the frontal assaults against men dug in with artillery and machine guns were suicidal. Almost all the 900 men in the first attack were killed for the loss of around 40 Americans. On 24 August, a second major Japanese naval force was sent south, but this time the naval battle that followed in the Eastern

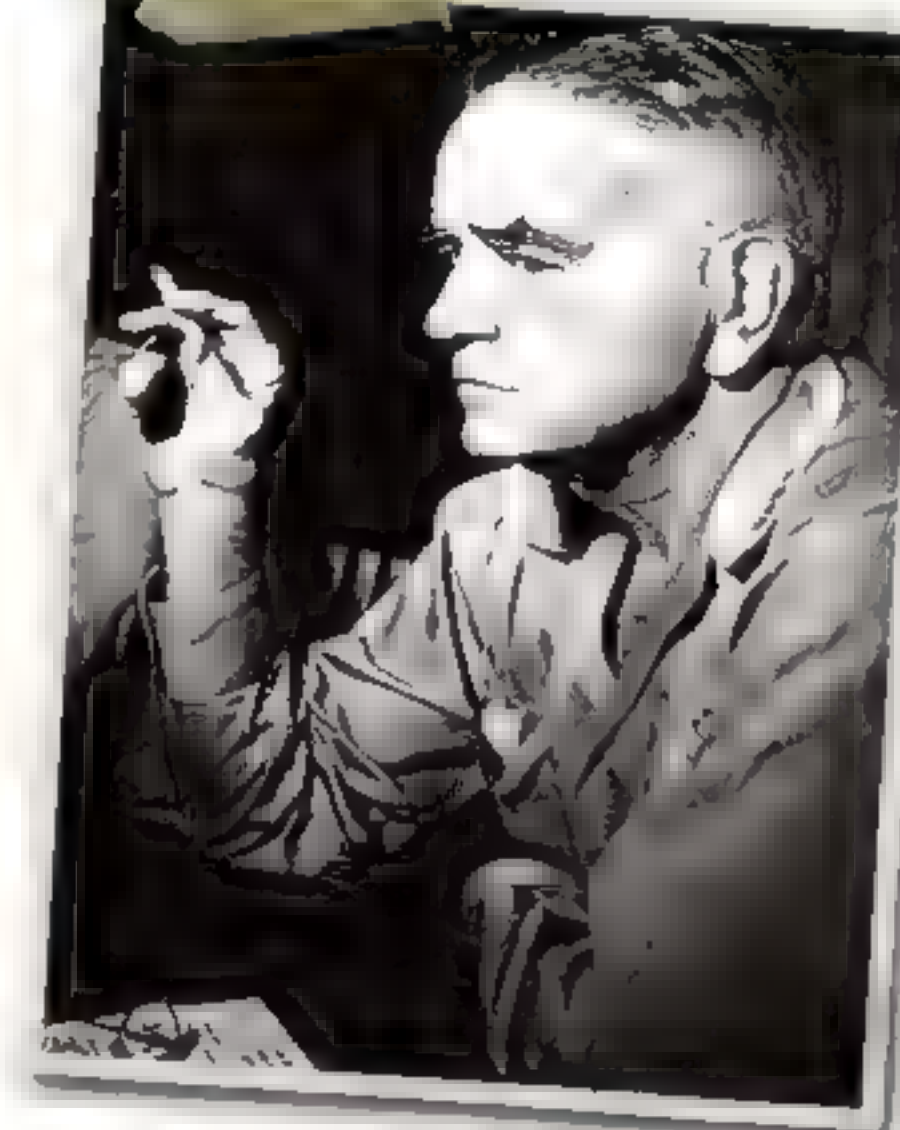
ABOVE In the Battle of Santa Cruz off the southernmost Solomon Islands, a Japanese aircraft bombs a US carrier. During the battle, the USS carrier Hornet was sunk along with a destroyer; the Japanese fleet suffered heavy losses of aircraft and damage to two battleships and two carriers

BELOW Commander of US carriers Admiral William F Halsey was made commander-in-chief South Pacific Area in October 1942 at the height of the Guadalcanal campaign. He drove his men aggressively under the violent slogan "Kill Japs! Kill more Japs!"



GENERAL ALEXANDER VANDEGRIFT (1887-1973)

General Vandegrift joined the US Marine Corps in 1909, and after service in the Caribbean, became a Marine Corps Assistant Chief-of-Staff, and by 1940, assistant to the US Marine Corps Commandant with the rank of Brigadier General. Shortly before Pearl Harbor he was sent to command the 1st Marine Division, and in May 1942 took the division to the south Pacific where he led it in the first full-scale invasion of Japanese-held territory in the Solomons. The capture of the island of Guadalcanal earned him the Medal of Honor and promotion to command of a Marine Corps. On 1 January 1944, he was promoted to lieutenant general and became Commandant of the Marine Corps in Washington. In April 1945, he became the first Marine Corps officer to reach the rank of four-star general.



Solomons was more even. The Japanese carrier Ryujo was sunk by US carrier aircraft and although the US carrier Enterprise was damaged, the Japanese force withdrew. Nevertheless, the build-up of Japanese forces continued under cover of night. They were used for further attacks on the Henderson Field enclave, but all of them were repulsed, including the battle for "Bloody Ridge" on 12 September when the Japanese troops were annihilated once again. By mid-October, both sides had approximately the same number of forces, 22,000 Japanese and 23,000 Americans, while the presence of large Japanese naval forces posed a serious threat to the American foothold on the island.

The week beginning 23 October was potentially decisive. The Japanese army began a series of heavy attacks on Henderson Field, and on 25 October a light naval force bombarded the area and sank a number of small vessels. A major fleet engagement on 26 October off the Santa Cruz Islands to the east of the Solomons led to the sinking of the US carrier Hornet, but also to heavy losses of Japanese carrier aircraft. The multiple attacks on Henderson Field over the period 23-26 October were once again repulsed with heavy losses in a series of hard-fought engagements, in which the two Marine divisions were joined by US army troops from the Americal Division. At the end of October, the situation was keenly balanced, but after three months of combat the US garrison had only succeeded in securing a small section of coast not much larger than the area they had first occupied in August. Over the following weeks, the duel between Vandegrift and Hyakutake reached a bloody climax.



SERGEANT JOHN BASILONE (1916-1945)

Gunnery Sergeant John Basilone was the first enlisted US Marine to win the Medal of Honor (right) during the Second World War, and the only enlisted man to win both that medal and the Navy Cross. One of 10 children from an Italian-American family in New York, he joined the army at 18, served in the Philippines, and after three years of service became a truck driver. He re-enlisted in the Marines in 1940, and won his medal on Guadalcanal for his heroism during a long engagement on 24-25 October against sustained Japanese attacks. He kept his heavy machine guns firing despite the loss of many of his men and helped to repel the Japanese assault. He returned to the United States but then asked to be sent back to action. He died in the assault on Iwo Jima on 19 February after single-handedly destroying a Japanese blockhouse and allowing his unit, the 27th Marine Regiment, to capture an airfield. He was killed by a mortar shell and his body later buried in Arlington National Cemetery. He was awarded the Navy Cross posthumously for his exceptional courage in action.



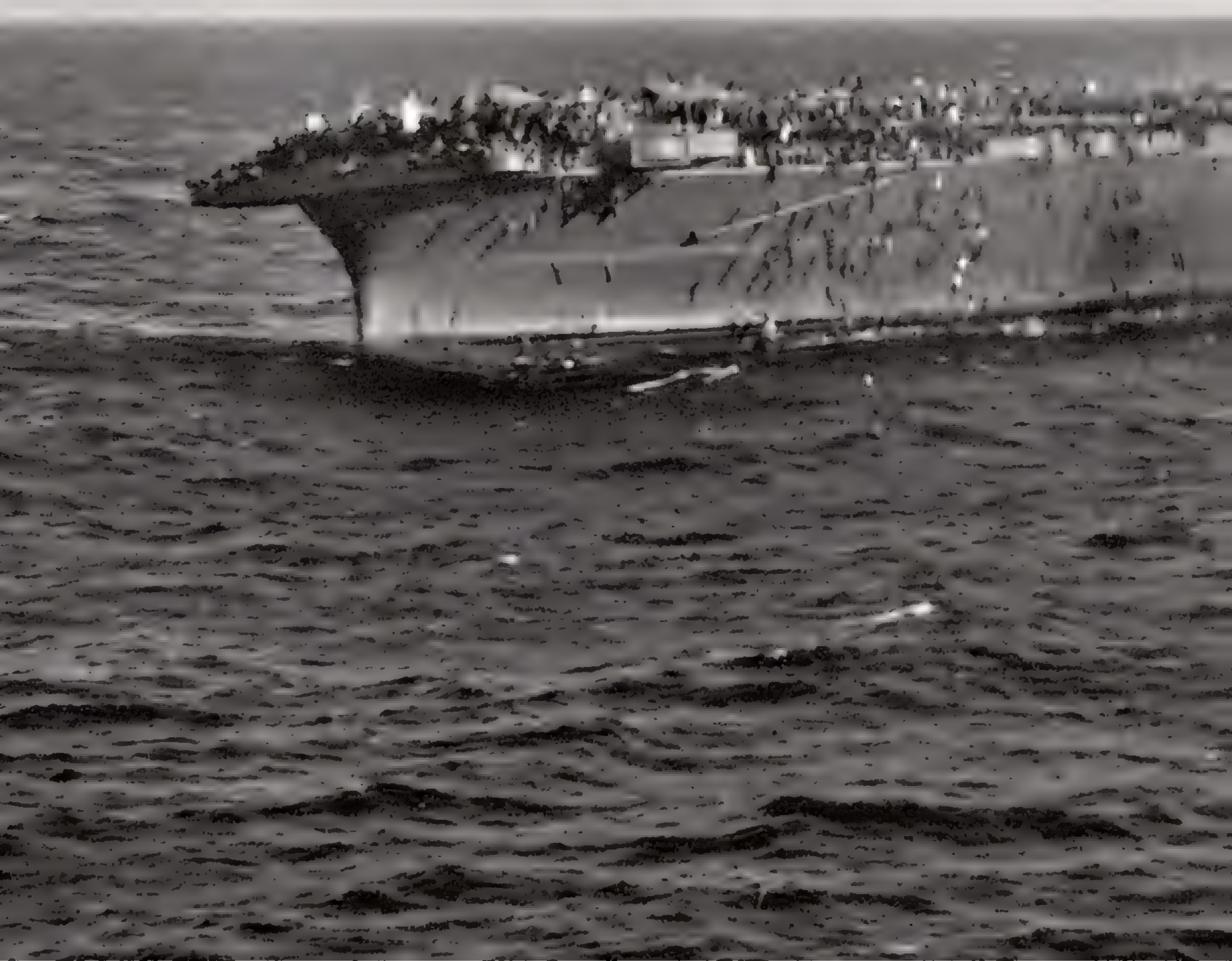
RIGHT Dead Japanese soldiers in the campaign on Guadalcanal in the winter of 1942-3. Japanese forces lost 20,000 men in the unsuccessful attempt to hold on to the island





ICONIC MOMENT

Following heavy damage from Japanese torpedoes, American crewman abandon ship from the sinking USS Lexington. Some survivors managed to make it aboard the nearby destroyer.





12 NOVEMBER–
8 FEBRUARY 1943

GUADALCANAL



ABOVE The Guadalcanal shoulder patch worn by those of the 1st Marine Division



LEFT A Japanese ship in the major base at Rabaul is hit by a bomb from the US 5th Army Air Force during an attack. Air attack on the base neutralized it as a threat throughout the conquest of the Solomons and the other southwest Pacific islands

The battle for Guadalcanal reached a critical point by November 1942. Though on a scale very much smaller than the battles in the North African desert or around Stalingrad, the struggle for the island came to be regarded by both sides as a vital testing ground for American resolve on the one hand, and Japan's capacity to effectively protect her new-won empire on the other.

Japanese forces on the island were strengthened after the failures of the October assault on the American-held Henderson airfield by supplies and men shipped by Japanese naval vessels on the "Tokyo Express" supply route through the central Solomons. By 12 November the forces at the disposal of Lieutenant General Hyakutake exceeded American numbers for the first time – 23,000 against 22,000. But that same day a United States task force delivered reinforcements to Guadalcanal supported by air cover from aircraft carriers stationed in the Coral Sea and heavy bombers on the island of Espiritu Santo. By early December the balance was once again in American favour, 40,000 troops against 25,000.

This situation might well have been reversed had it not been for a series of destructive naval battles off the northern coast of Guadalcanal between 12 and 15 November, in which a United States task force tried to prevent further reinforcement. A large convoy of Japanese troops, heavily supported by naval vessels, arrived off Guadalcanal in Ironbottom Sound on the night of November 12–13. A fierce ship-to-ship engagement followed which left six American ships sunk and cost the Japanese three, including a battleship. The following day American aircraft attacked the Japanese landing fleet, sinking a cruiser and seven transport ships. During the night

REAR ADMIRAL RAIZO TANAKA (1892-1969)

A career officer in the Japanese Navy, Tanaka became an expert on torpedoes in the 1920s and taught at the navy's torpedo school. In September 1941 he was appointed commander Destroyer Squadron 2 and in October promoted to rear admiral. He fought in the invasion of the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies. During the Solomons campaign Tanaka's destroyer force supplied Japanese forces on Guadalcanal along the "Slot" between the islands of the Solomons group. The Japanese called the supply runs "rat transportation"; but the Allies nicknamed them "the Tokyo Express". Tanaka became critical of Japanese strategy and was redeployed to shore duties in Burma, where he remained for the rest of the war.



RIGHT A tired US soldier on his way back to Base Operations Camp on Guadalcanal, February 1943, after 21 days of continuous combat. The fighting conditions for both sides were exceptionally tough throughout the island campaign



of 14-15 November a second major naval engagement took place in which the Japanese battleship *Kirishima* and another destroyer were both sunk for the loss of three US destroyers.

In the end only 2,000 troops could be landed with virtually no military supplies. The battles of Ironbottom Sound marked the end of Japanese efforts to save the position on Guadalcanal. One further attempt was made when Rear Admiral Tanaka personally commanded his destroyer squadron on 30 November in a run to Guadalcanal. His eight destroyers were surprised by a larger American force of five cruisers and four destroyers in Ironbottom Sound, but Tanaka's skilful handling of his ships produced a salvo of torpedoes that sank one cruiser and crippled the remaining three, before Tanaka retreated back up the Slot. The Battle of Tassafaronga, as it was known, was a tactical victory, but no supplies reached the embattled Japanese garrison.

In December 1942 the 1st Marine Division was replaced on the island by the 25th US Infantry Division and Vandegrift was replaced as commander by Major General Alexander Patch, commander of the Americal Division. With more than 50,000 men under his command he began a series of offensives against the poorly supplied Japanese forces. By this stage the Japanese Navy command had already decided that Guadalcanal would have to be abandoned and the Japanese Imperial Headquarters confirmed this decision on 31 December. The isolated Japanese forces fought with suicidal determination but were pressed back to the north of the island. Unknown to the Americans, Japanese destroyers off the coast successfully evacuated 10,650 troops, including Hyakutake, between 2 and 8 February, leaving Guadalcanal in American hands.

Japanese losses for the island struggle were high. Over 20,000 troops were lost, 860 aircraft and 15 warships. The United States Navy also lost heavily, but the ground troops suffered only 6,111 casualties, including 1,752 killed. This remarkable disparity in losses was to be repeated in the island battles across the Pacific. If the Battle of Midway had determined the limit of Japanese naval expansion, the failure at Guadalcanal decisively halted the onward march of the Japanese army.



ABOVE Two American soldiers of the US 32nd Division fire into a dugout near the port of Buna in New Guinea in the drive to expel the Japanese from southern Papua at the same time as the operations on Guadalcanal

BELOW Japanese prisoners, sick and hungry, are taken down to the beach by American troops after the capture of a Japanese stronghold on Guadalcanal, 22 February 1943. Most Japanese troops had been evacuated to safety by this time



BATTLE FOR NEW GUINEA

While the struggle was continuing in Guadalcanal a second battle was taking place in eastern New Guinea where the Japanese had landed on 22 July 1942 to try to seize Port Moresby and expel Allied forces from the island. They landed at Gona and Buna and marched inland to seize Kokoda and by September were 25 miles from the port. Stiff Australian and American resistance and the crisis in Guadalcanal forced a Japanese retreat and on 15 November Kokoda was recaptured. On 9 December the Japanese lodgement at Gona was eliminated by the Australian army and on 1 January 1943 Buna was captured as well. Japanese failure in New Guinea was further evidence that the outer perimeter of the southern zone could not be made secure



MONGOLIA

MANCHURIA

CHINA

KOREA

JAPAN

Tokyo

Nanking

Shanghai

OKINAWA

IWO JIMA

Hong Kong

FORMOSA

BURMA

Rangoon

SIAM

FRENCH
INDO-
CHINA

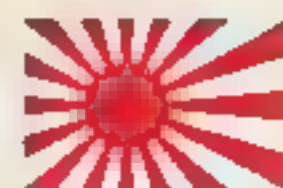
Saigon

PHILIPPINES

Manila

SAIPAN

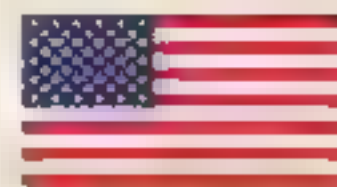
GUAM



Admiral Yamamoto
shot down over
Bougainville Island
by U.S. fighter
aircraft after U.S.
intelligence
intercepts, April 18,
1943

PALAU
ISLANDS

PELELIU



Allied troops take Buna
after three months of heavy
fighting, January 22, 1943

MALAY STATES

Singapore

BORNEO

CELEBES

Batavia (Jakarta)

DUTCH EAST INDIES

TIMOR

Hollandia

NEW GUINEA

Rabaul

Buna

Port Moresby

Darwin

INDIAN OCEAN

AUSTRALIA

PACIFIC
OCEAN

PACIFIC THEATRE 1943

KEY TO MAPS



Imperial Japanese Navy



Japanese army



Japanese military advances



U.S. military forces



U.S. military advances



Australian military forces



Australian military advances



Air attacks



Army land battles



Airfields



Limit of Japanese expansion

MIDWAY

WAKE ISLAND

MARSHALL ISLANDS



Battle for Makin Atoll,
November 20–23,
1943

SPRUANCE

Task Force 16

GILBERT ISLANDS



Battle for Tawara
Atoll, November
20–23, 1943

OPERATION "CARTWHEEL"

ADMIRALTY ISLANDS

Feb. 29

EMIRAU IS.

Mar. 20

NEW IRELAND

RABAU

Bismarck Sea

CAPE GLOUCESTER

Dec. 26

TALASEA

NEW BRITAIN

Nov. 1

SHORTLANDS

TREASURY IS.

Oct. 27

NEW GEORGIA

Solomon Sea

Jun. 30–Aug. 27

RUSSELL IS.

HENDERSON FIELD

GUADALCANAL

MILNE BAY

ABAU

BUNA

KOKODA

MOROE

WAW

SALAMAU

LAKE

SAIDOR

MADANG

BOGIA

WEWAK

NEW GUINEA

PAPUA

PORT MORESBY

ABAU

BUNA

KOKODA

MOROE

WAW

SALAMAU

LAKE

SAIDOR

MADANG

BOGIA

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29 JUNE 1943-
APRIL 1944

OPERATION CARTWHEEL: WAR FOR NEW GUINEA

Following the defeat of the Japanese on Guadalcanal in February 1943, the Japanese naval and military leaders planned to strengthen their presence on New Guinea and to hold a defensive line from there through the northern Solomons to the Gilbert and Marshall islands. During the first three months of 1943, Lieutenant General Hatazo Adachi's 18th Army was transferred to the eastern coast of New Guinea and a large air component, the 4th Air Army, was based at Wewak, far enough from the American and Australian air forces in the southern tip of the island to avoid direct attack. The object was to move back down the island to capture Port Moresby, the target for Japanese ambitions a year before.

General MacArthur planned to consolidate the victory at Guadalcanal, which had demonstrated the growing superiority of American naval power in the southwest Pacific, by launching a major operation, codenamed 'Cartwheel', against the main Japanese base at Rabaul on New Britain and the Japanese forces in northern New Guinea. On New Guinea itself an Australian army group, the New Guinea Force, with five Australian divisions and one American, was assigned to attack the Japanese based at Lae and Salamaua. The all-American Alamo Force, backed by a powerful naval and air component, was to neutralize Rabaul and attack New Britain and the Admiralty Islands, further to the north.

The Japanese attacked first in an attempt to seize the Allied airstrip at Wau but they were beaten off in bitter fighting. Then, on 29 June, the Allied attack began on the Japanese bases at Lae and Salamaua. To speed up the advance, Lieutenant General Kenney's US 5th Air Force built a secret airfield closer to the Japanese air base at Wewak from which he launched two devastating attacks on 17 and 18 August, leaving the Japanese with just 38

BELOW LEFT A Japanese national flag, given to Japanese soldiers by friends and family and carried to encourage personal good luck and patriotic virtue. They were inscribed with messages of good fortune and slogans of victory and honour to the emperor

THE BATTLE OF THE BISMARCK SEA

On 23 February 1943, 7,000 men of the Japanese 51st Division embarked in eight transport vessels at the main Japanese base at Rabaul in the northern Solomon Islands, bound for northern New Guinea. They were escorted by eight destroyers. American forces had been warned in advance of the convoy through Pacific ULTRA intelligence and on 2 March began a series of attacks by day and night as the boats crossed the Bismarck Sea. All the transport vessels were sunk and four of the destroyers, with the loss of 3,664 of the division. The Japanese commander in New Guinea, Lieutenant General Hatazo Adachi, was among the 950 survivors to reach the Japanese base at Lae.

serviceable aircraft. The Japanese army defended to the death, and not until 16 September did the Australians overrun Lae and Salamaua and another three months were needed before the whole of the Huon Peninsula was in Allied hands.

While this first campaign was completed, US forces landed on western New Britain on 15 December. The previous month, strong carrier forces had neutralised any threat from the Japanese base at Rabaul, while the main concentration of the Japanese fleet, at the island of Truk in the Carolines group further north, was too weak to contest every avenue of American advance. After landings in the Admiralty Islands between 29 February and 20 March 1944, the American Fast Carrier Force commanded by Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher swung round

ABOVE A Beaufort Bomber of No. 8 Squadron Royal Australian Air Force above the shoreline during a bombing attack on Wewak, the site of the largest Japanese air base on mainland New Guinea

BELOW United States troops rush ashore during the landing at Sidor on the northern coast of New Guinea, 2 January 1944. This was part of the coast-hopping operations designed to outflank the Japanese defenders during Operation Cartwheel





ABOVE An American unit on the Soputa front, near the New Guinea port of Buna, carrying wounded comrades back to headquarters after 11 days' continuous combat during the campaign to drive Japanese forces out of the southern areas of the island

to mount operations on the northern coast of New Guinea far behind Adachi's retreating 18th Army, cutting off his avenue of escape. Strong forces were landed at Hollandia on 30 March and Aitape on 22 April. Adachi ordered his force to attack the US perimeter in July 1944, but was beaten back. He retreated with what was left of his force into the high mountains inland, and played no further part in the war.

Operation Cartwheel confirmed that the balance of power had swung firmly in favour of the Allies in the southwest Pacific. Although the Japanese had held the long frontier of their conquered Pacific empire for two years, it was only because fighting in the tough tropical conditions of the region was a slow process, while Japanese forces resisted with almost complete disregard for their losses and in spite of debilitating diseases and persistent hunger. The refusal to give up lent the fighting a brutal character which Allied forces did not encounter in the Mediterranean or Western Europe.

BELOW LEFT INSET The Japanese commander on New Guinea, Lieutenant General Hatazo Adachi, arrives on 13 September 1945 at Cape Wom airbase, Wewak, to oversee the formal surrender of his few remaining forces

LIEUTENANT GENERAL HATAZO ADACHI (1884-1947)

Hatazo Adachi had a reputation for leading his men from the front, even when he reached the rank of general. The son of a poor samurai family, he joined the Japanese army and began service with the 1st Imperial Guards Division. He served in Manchuria in 1933, and then as a colonel in the Sino-Japanese war, where he was wounded by mortar fire. In 1941-42 he was chief-of-staff of the North China Area Army responsible for hunting down Chinese Communists. In November 1942, he was posted to Rabaul to take command of the 18th Army for the campaign on New Guinea. In 1944, his forces were isolated on the island, and were decimated by malaria and hunger. In September 1945, he surrendered and was charged with war crimes by the Australian government. Sentenced to life imprisonment, he committed ritual suicide with a paring knife on 10 September 1947.



BELOW Australian soldiers crossing the Faria River in the Faria valley in New Guinea on their way back to base. Australian forces played a major part in the fight against the Japanese on the island



20 NOVEMBER 1943-
23 FEBRUARY 1944

ISLAND-HOPPING IN THE PACIFIC: GILBERT AND MARSHALL ISLANDS



LEFT United States Marines from the 2nd Marine Division waded through shallow water in the invasion of Makin Atoll. The US commanders had little knowledge of Japanese strength on the island, but in this case the small garrison of 800 was overcome in three days of fighting which proved less costly than on neighbouring Tarawa



ABOVE An American cruiser fires at Japanese positions on Makin Atoll, 20 November 1943, during an operation in the Gilbert Islands, northeast of the Solomons.

The assault on New Guinea and Rabaul in the second half of 1943 was one wing of a two-pronged campaign. A second line of attack was launched through the Solomon Islands north of Guadalcanal and on into the Central Pacific against the outlying Gilbert and Marshall islands, viewed as stepping-stones to the distant Marianas, which were within striking distance of Japan for the US Army Air Force's new generation of heavy long-range bombers, the B-29 Superfortress.

BELOW US Thompson sub-machine gun, adopted by the US Army in 1938 and used widely in the Pacific theatre by all Allied troops



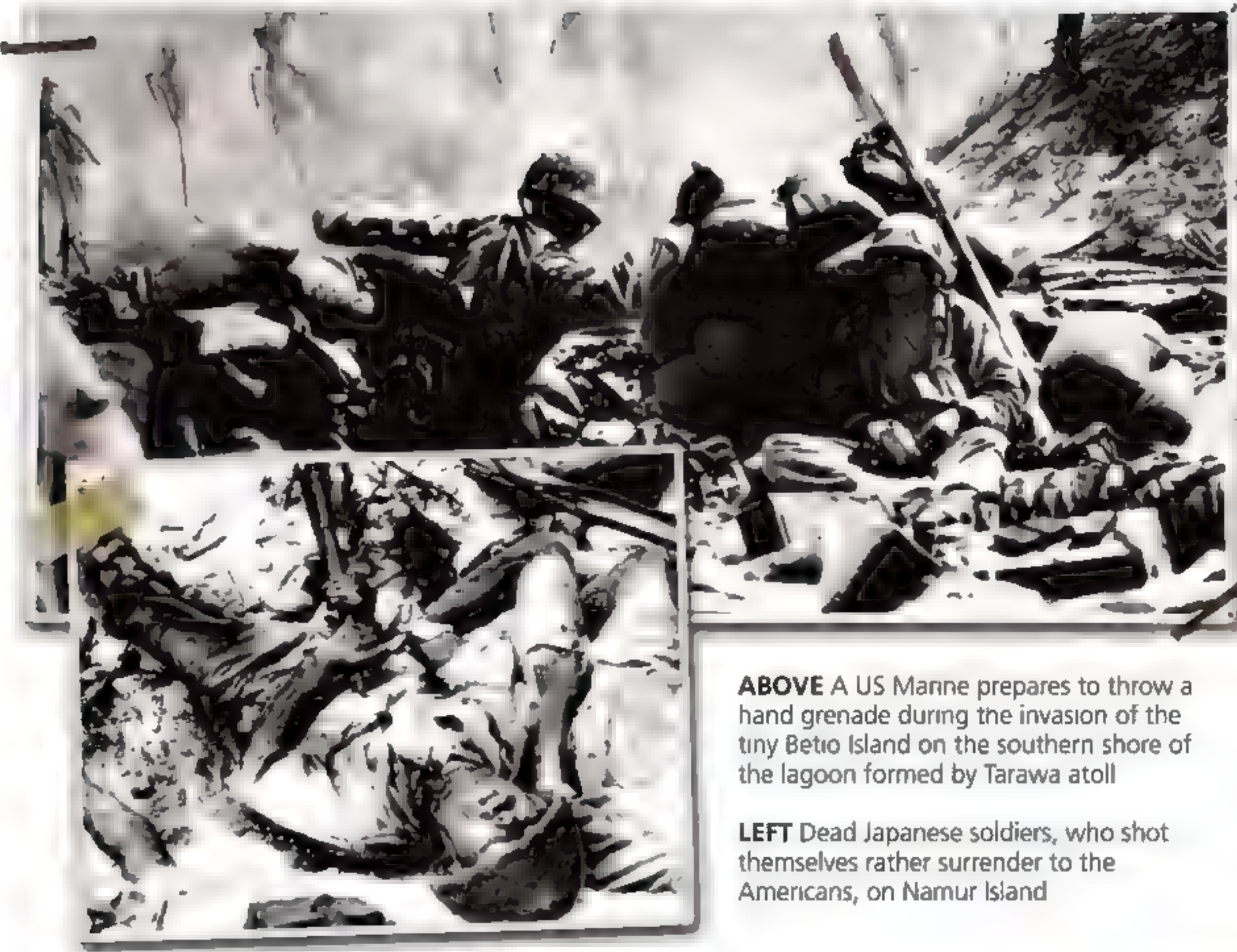
THE BATTLE FOR TARAWA

The battle for the small island of Betio on the edge of Tarawa atoll in the Gilbert Islands was one of the toughest battles of the Pacific War. Only 4,500 Japanese Marines garrisoned the island, but they were well supplied and dug in to deep defensive positions, including 500 pillboxes and a network of concealed trenches. The US naval force that mounted the operation included no fewer than 17 aircraft carriers, 12 battleships, and 35,000 US Marines and soldiers. They attacked on 20 November 1943, but intense Japanese fire and difficult tidal waters pinned them on the beaches. There followed three days of fierce fighting, but vastly superior manpower and supplies gradually allowed the US forces to gain the upper hand. At the end, only 17 Japanese soldiers were left alive, but a total of 990 US Marines and 687 sailors lost their lives, a level of casualties that prompted strong criticism of the operation among the American public.



In June 1943, Admiral William Halsey's Third Fleet began the task of capturing the main islands of the southern Solomons. Rendova Island was taken on 30 June, then New Georgia was attacked and the base at Munda captured on 4-5 August. Japanese convoys sent to help the endangered garrisons were destroyed in two battles in the Kula Gulf and the Vella Gulf, and on 1 November, US forces, supported by the 3rd New Zealand Division, landed on the main Island of Bougainville, where air bases could be set up to bomb the Japanese base at Rabaul. Japanese reinforcements were hastily sent to the island, where the Japanese garrison numbered around 40,000 men, but Halsey was able to call on extensive air support to contain the Japanese threat while an assault by two of his carriers on the powerful fleet of Vice Admiral Kurita at Rabaul forced a Japanese withdrawal. The Japanese were bottled up on Bougainville until the end of the war, when 23,000 surrendered.

Further north, Admiral Nimitz prepared to assault the Gilbert and Marshall islands. A force of 200 ships was



ABOVE A US Marine prepares to throw a hand grenade during the invasion of the tiny Betio Island on the southern shore of the lagoon formed by Tarawa atoll

LEFT Dead Japanese soldiers, who shot themselves rather than surrender to the Americans, on Namur Island

assembled, with 35,000 soldiers and Marines and 6,000 vehicles. On 13 November, a sustained naval bombardment began against Makin and Tarawa atolls in the Gilbert Islands. The attack, codenamed Operation Galvanic, began on 20 November against Makin atoll, which was secured by 23 November after limited but fierce fighting by a small Japanese garrison of 800 soldiers, which had no aircraft, and was commanded by no one more senior than a first lieutenant. A Japanese submarine from Truk sank a US escort carrier, Liscombe Bay. Betio Island on Tarawa atoll took the same time to secure, but only after bitter and costly fighting for both sides. Attention then shifted to the Marshall Islands further north, a German colony taken over as a mandate by the Japanese in 1919. The objective here was to capture the main Japanese base on Kwajalein atoll in



an operation codenamed Flintlock. Rear Admiral Charles Pownall's Task Force 50 bombarded the Japanese positions more than a month before the assault took place, followed by heavy attacks from land-based aircraft.

On February 1, an armada of 297 ships brought the US 7th Infantry Division to Kwajalein, while the 4th Marine Division went on to the Roi and Namur islands further to the north of the group. In total 84,000 troops were involved in the hope of avoiding the costly battles experienced in the Gilberts. After six days of heavy fighting, all three islands were secure; on Kwajalein only 265 Japanese soldiers were taken alive out of a garrison of 4,000. Nimitz then ordered a further operation against the Engei and Eniwotek atolls, 350 miles (560 kilometres) northwest of Kwajalein. Attacks here secured the islands between 17 and 23 February. The US naval forces were now within striking distance of the Marianas, and aircraft from the Marshalls could attack the main Japanese naval base at Truk. Although there was much argument over the merits of the island-hopping campaign, where tiny atolls were secured at a high cost in casualties, Nimitz was keen to push the central Pacific avenue to Japan as a more efficient, faster and ultimately less costly strategy than MacArthur's idea of attacking through the East Indies and the Philippines against heavy Japanese force concentrations. The result was a division of resources between two different campaigns, and a growing sense of rivalry between the army and navy over who would defeat Japan first.

LEFT A US naval rating playing the trumpet in an informal entertainment for the troops on Tarawa atoll on New Year's Eve 1943, five weeks after its capture

BELOW A US soldier uses a jeep with a billboard on the back to direct bombers to their parking places on the Eniwetok airstrip captured from the Japanese in the Marshall Islands on 23 February 1944. In the background can be seen B-24 Liberator bombers

REAR ADMIRAL MARC A MITSCHER (1887—1947)

One of the pioneers of naval aviation in the US Navy, Marc Mitscher played an important part in driving the Japanese from the central Pacific during the Second World War. He joined the navy in 1906, transferring to the Aeronautics Section in 1915. He was one of three navy pilots who flew across the Atlantic in flying boats in 1919. He was assistant chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics from 1939 to 1941, and then took command of the aircraft carrier USS Hornet from which the Doolittle raid was launched against Japanese cities in April 1942. His carrier saw action at Midway, and in April 1943 he became air commander in the Solomons. He was appointed to command carrier Task Force 58 (later known as the Fast Carrier Task Force) which harried the Japanese in New Guinea and the Marianas and in March 1944 was promoted to vice admiral. At the end of the war he was appointed Deputy Chief of Naval Operations responsible for aviation, and in 1946 became Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Fleet.



CV6/A16-3/(60-Br) U. S. S. ENTERPRISE
(0133)

CONFIDENTIAL

At Sea;
June 2, 1942

From: The Commanding Officer;
To: The Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet.
Via: Commander Task Force Sixteen.
(Rear Admiral R.A. Spruance, U.S. Navy).
Subject: Battle of Midway Island, June 4 - 6, 1942 -
Report of.
Reference: (a) Articles 712 and 874, U.S. Navy
Regulations, 1920.
Enclosures: (A) Track Chart.
(B) Photographs of enemy CA, damaged in
the action of June 6, 1942.
(C) Executive Officer's Report.

I. PRELIMINARY.

1. On the afternoon and evening of June 3, 1942, the general situation prior to the battle was as follows (times throughout are zone plus 10): Task Force Seventeen and Task Force Sixteen had previously rendezvoused in the general vicinity of "Point Luck", approximately 550 miles northeast of Midway Island and were operating in that area closing Midway during darkness and opening during the day, remaining east of the longitude of Midway. Both Task Forces had completed fueling to capacity and the oilers despatched to their rendezvous. The Senior Officer Present Afloat and Officer in Tactical Command was in YORKTOWN. The two task forces were separated but were within visual contact. They were operating independently but generally conforming in their movements. At 2150 course was changed to 210°T. toward a 0630, June 4, rendezvous (31° 30' N; 176° 50' W) designated by Commander Task Force 17. At 1812 a radio message from Flight 312 to Radio Midway was intercepted "2 enemy destroyers & cargo vessels course 020 speed 13".

2. At 2000, June 3, 1942, ENTERPRISE, Flagship of Commander Task Force 16 was in position 33° 16' N, 175° 46' W, in the center as guide of Cruising Disposition 11-V, axis 270°T, course 100°T, speed 15 knots and zigzagging according to Plan Number 7. Wind south 2, clouds cumulus 7, visibility 30, sea smooth.

CVG-116-3/(60-Br) U. S. S. ENTERPRISE
(0133)

At Sea,
June 6, 1942.

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: Battle of Midway Island, June 4 - 6, 1942,-
Report of.

3. The following significant messages were received during the night of June 5 - 4:

At 0447 - from Flight 44 to Radio Midway "large enemy forces bearing 281° T, distance 500 course 080 speed 15 - ten ships".
At 0734 - from Flight 58 to Radio Midway "enemy carriers".
At 0753 - from Flight 58 to Radio Midway "many planes bearing 320 distance 150".
At 0803 - from Flight 92 to Radio Midway "2 carriers and battleships bearing 320° distance 180 course 135 speed 25".
At 0807 - from Commander Task Force 17 to Commander Task Force 16 "proceed southwesterly and attack enemy carriers when definitely located".

II. THE ACTION.

June 4, 1942. Wind SE 3, clouds cumulus 4, visibility 50, sea 3-4 ft.

Time

0900 - 3-11 commenced launching attack group of 35 VSB, 14 VF, 10 VF.
15 VSB armed with one 1000 lb. bomb each.
12 VSB armed with one 500 lb. bomb and two 100 lb. bombs each.
6 VSB armed with one 500 lb. bomb each.
14 VF armed with torpedoes.
1015 - Type 97 enemy twin-float seaplane sighted bearing 180° T., distance 72,000 yards. Combat Patrol failed to find it is plane although radar and lookouts confirmed its position.
1129 - 1132 - Launched 8 VF for second Combat Patrol.
1145 - 1152 - Landed first Combat Patrol 8 VF.
1202 - Commander Task Force 16 Air Group sighted Japanese Force composed of 4 CV, 2 BB, 4 CA, 6 DD.
1220 - VF commenced attack; probably one hit on CV.
1222 - VSB commenced dive bombing attack; two (2) CV badly damaged with many direct bomb hits, left in flames. position of enemy force, Lat. 30° 05' N, Long. 179° 15' W.
1244 - 1247 - Launched 8 VF for third Combat Patrol.
1255 - Completed landing VF escort.

- 2 -

8 June 1942

BATTLE OF MIDWAY REPORT

An action report on the Battle of Midway filed by USS Enterprise captain George Murray following the battle. It focuses on the ship's operations and air group losses.

CVG-116-3/(60-Br)
(0133)

U. S. S. ENTERPRISE

At Sea,
June 6, 1942.

Subject: Battle of Midway Island, June 4 - 6, 1942 -
Report of.

1316 - 1329 - Landed second Combat Patrol 8 VF.
1337 - 1340 - Launched 8 VF, fourth Combat Patrol.
1405 - 20 enemy planes reported bearing 310° coming in. (Attack on YORKTOWN followed).
1410 - Completed landing attack group.
1433 - 1435 - Launched 8 VF, fifth Combat Patrol.
1437 - 1438 - Landed 5-B-3 and 5-B-16 (YORKTOWN planes). YORKTOWN pilot reported YORKTOWN in bad shape. Heavy smoke seen from YORKTOWN.
1442 - 1448 - Landed 5-B-7, 5-B-8, 5-B-9, 5-B-10, 5-B-12, 5-B-14, 5-B-15 (YORKTOWN planes).
1451 - 1459 - Landed 5-F-2, 5-F-3, 5-F-8, 5-F-21, 5-B-4, 5-B-5, 5-B-6, 5-B-11, 5-B-13, 5-B-17 (YORKTOWN planes).
1504 - 1505 - Landed 5-F-10, 5-F-15 (YORKTOWN planes).
1539 - 1541 - Launched 6 VF, sixth Combat Patrol.
1547 - 1559 - Landed third and fourth Combat Patrol.
1610 - VF shot down seaplane tracker 50 miles south of our force.
1645 - Received message from YORKTOWN scout, "1 CV, 2 BB, 3 CA, 4 DD, 31° 15' N, 179° 05' W, course 000, speed 15."
1730 - Commenced launching second attack group composed of 11 VSB armed with one 1000 lb. bomb each.
1742 - 1752 - Landed fifth and sixth Combat Patrols 10 VF.
1755 - 1805 - Landed 6-B-16 from Attack Group.
1805 - 1815 - Landed 12 VF for ninth Combat Patrol.
1815 - 1825 - Landed 8 VF of seventh Combat Patrol.
1825 - 1835 - Landed 4 VSB from YORKTOWN.
1905 - Attacked Japanese Force composed of 1 CV, 2 BB, 3 CA, 4 DD, position Lat. 51° - 40' N, Long. 179° - 10' W. Left 1 CV and 1 BB severely damaged and mass of flames.
1925 - 1930 - Landed 2 VF of eighth Combat Patrol and 1 VF from YORKTOWN.
1958 - 2005 - Launched 20 VF for tenth Combat Patrol.
2008 - 2034 - Landed 20 VSB of Attack Group. (3 did not return). Landed 9 VF of ninth Combat Patrol. Landed 2 VF of tenth Combat Patrol.
2034 - Completed landing attack group.

- 3 -

19 August 1942

MARINE FIRST LIEUTENANT GS DE VANE REPORT

Report from Marine First Lieutenant GS De Vane on operations in the Solomons in early August 1942 for the capture of the port of Tulagi.

From: Bn. 2 3rd Bn., 2nd Marines
To: Dist D-2, 1st Marine Division
Subject: Gavutu, Tanabogo operation Intelligence Report on.
Reference: 1. Verbal order of Dist D-2 dated 17 Aug 1942.
2. Report of Bn 4 of 3rd Bn., 2nd Marines dated 19 August 1942.

1. The following report upon the operation of this battalion on Gavutu and Tanabogo Islands as submitted in accordance with Reference 1 above.
- A. Personnel -
 - (1) Thirteen (13) Japanese prisoners were captured, eleven between the dates of 8 Aug 1942 and 15 Aug 1942. These prisoners were delivered to Dist D-2 at Tulagi. This battalion obtained no information from the above mentioned prisoners because no interpreter was available.
 - (2) This echelon estimates that 670 Japanese occupied the islands of Gavutu and Tanabogo. A majority of these men apparently were attached to a naval unit because the captured uniforms had anchor insignia sewn on the sleeves and caps. No insignia of rank was found.
 - (3) A total of about 655 Japanese were buried on the two islands. 155 were buried in the caves and tunnels in the hills on the islands.
 - (4) A number of Japanese were found, it is who were wearing nothing but a loincloth and a pair of sneakers or no shoes at all. In many cases Japanese swam over from Florida Island.

HIST 996607

entirely unarmed.
(5) The patience and persistence of the Japanese soldiers was amazing. Their fearlessness was demonstrated on several occasions when unarmed Japanese would attack armed Marines in groups several times the size of Japanese groups. Japanese snipers in coconut trees were very harassing in spite of the fact that their rifle fire was inaccurate at ranges of 100 yards or more. Their mastery of the art of camouflage was shown by the perfect concealment of Japanese snipers in trees and on the beaches under rocks.

B Captured material.

- (1) The standard infantry rifle used on the islands was a 25 caliber rifle. Reports were made that soft-nosed or blunt nosed bullets might have been used. It is a bolt action rifle which has a sight that can be elevated but which can not be changed for windage. The metal is very rust resisting.
- (2) Several 13mm anti aircraft guns were captured in ~~one~~ emplacement. Two barrels were on one mount and the trigger was foot operated. One 3 in. dual purpose gun was destroyed on island and another is still in operation.
- (3) The Japanese MGs captured fire a .303 cal cartridge. It is noted that these Japanese machine guns are 30 cal 2mm. action, but at 30 cal 3mm. In several cases the bullet plates

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northern shore of Lake. In the building
were a number of large bottles of what
was reported to be an intoxicating drink

- 3) Buoys or moorings for seaplanes, are indicated on the attached sketch.
- 6) Power plants were found on both Havulu and Tanamisso. A line, probably a power line, connected Laoni to Tanamisso Island.
- 7) Several other aviation facilities, which have been found on the adjoining shores of Honda Island. Their proximity to the fuel dumps there indicates that they were used in connection with fueling planes.
- 8) The seaplane ramps, workshops, and other seaplane facilities, were located mainly on Tanamisso. However, the attached sketch indicates that the seaplane buoys or moorings also were in the Havulu area. Aviation gas was found both on Havulu and Tanamisso.
- 9) The three (3) Japanese plants destroyed by naval gunfire on 11-10-42, the seaplane ramps, the aviation gasoline storage facilities, and the bombs etc. etc. seem to indicate that the Havulu - Tanamisso - Laoni Islands area was used extensively as a base for seaplanes.

The jetty on the shore of Hamlet as indicated on the accompanying sketch, is of concrete and wood pilings. Alongside the jetty the water appears to be about fifteen feet deep. The jetty lies in a narrow channel. All dumps were very near the jetty, and on the jetty itself were a number of large tanks, a workshop, and the seven torpedoes previously mentioned.


5. All documents, maps, blueprints, the
route aircraft sight, weapons, ammunition
and the other information and material
have been turned over to the West.
Division Commander at Incegi. Reference
2 is a list of all quartermaster property
which has been delivered to Incegi
11 - at Incegi.

9 5 4 L. Cane, 1st 1st
BN 2, 3rd BN 2nd Mar

20-23 November 1943

RADIO MESSAGES

A series of urgent messages sent by the United States Marines during the assault on Tarawa Atoll between 20 and 23 November 1943. The landing was strongly opposed by Japanese troops dug into hidden positions and the Marines were pinned down on the beach for two days before US firepower succeeded in driving the Japanese garrison back.

U.S. MARINE CORPS		CHECK ONE DESIRED		COPY	REMARKS
ROUTINE	NOT	PRIORITY			
MESSAGE: <i>210111 U 241111</i> DO NOT WRITE IN THE ABOVE SPACE <i>Send immediately to all at once BT</i>  <i>4</i>					
FROM: <i>C.O. BT 2</i>		TO: <i>ADJUTANT GENERAL</i>		INFO:	
DISTRIBUTION		DATE:		TIME:	
SPECIAL		U.S. MARINE CORPS			

CHECK ONE BOX ONLY																
U.S. MARINE CORPS	NAVY	AIR FORCE	ARMY	COAST GUARD												
<p>NAME <i>John J. ...</i></p> <p>UNIT <i>1st ...</i></p> <p>ADDRESS <i>...</i></p> <p>CITY <i>...</i></p> <p>STATE <i>...</i></p> <p>ZIP <i>...</i></p>																
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CHECK ONE BELOW					
U.S. MARINE CORPS	ROCKET	MFG.	FABRITY	CODG	REMARKS

HEADLINE

DO NOT WRITE IN THE ABOVE SPACE

RECEIVING HEAVY FIRE ALL ALONG BEACH X UNABLE TO LAND ALL X
ISSUE IN DOUBT

#4

INTERCEPT

FROM	TO	INFO
LT 3/2	CO CT 2	
DISTRIBUTION	SUBJECTS	DATE
	A B C SPECIAL	20 NOV 43

NACD-APP-8-61

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

ACTION REPORT

COMMANDER CENTRAL PACIFIC FORCE

10 DECEMBER 1943

SERIAL 00156

REPORT ON GALVANIC OPERATIONS, ON 6 NOVEMBER - 8 DECEMBER 1943.

PRELIMINARY GENERAL REPORT, IN ADVANCE OF SUBORDINATE COMMANDERS' REPORTS, ON OCCUPATION OF MAKIN, TARAWA, APAMAMA AND STRIKES ON KWAJALEIN AND NAURU. COVERS FROM DEPARTURE OF FIRST COMBAT SHIPS THROUGH ATTACK ON NAURU.

61601

Serial: 00156

SECRET
SECRET

CENTRAL PACIFIC FORCE
UNITED STATES PACIFIC FLEET
FLAGSHIP OF THE COMMANDER

10 DEC 1943

From:

To :

Commander Central Pacific Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet.
Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet.

Subject:

GALVANIC Operations - report on.

1. The following is submitted as a general report on GALVANIC in advance of the detailed reports on that operation which will be made by Task Group and Task Force Commanders. Some of the statements made may, however, require modification in the light of information contained in these reports.

2. GALVANIC was carried out according to plan up to and including D day (20 November). After D day, the plans were less specific and more flexible, in order to allow for and to take advantage of the unknown element of enemy reaction. In general, the plans for the period following D day were carried out, except that such shifts were made in fueling and carrier areas as seemed likely to prevent interference by enemy aircraft and submarines. As vessels of the attack forces, both combatant and transport types, cleared the area to return to PEARL, the escorting DDs with them were reduced in numbers and the surplus returned to the captured bases to help overcome the existing shortage of screening vessels.

3. GALVANIC was favored by our obtaining a large element of tactical surprise, insofar as the approach of all task groups and task forces to their various objectives was concerned. So far as is known, the DALE and the three LSTs which she was escorting to MAKIN were the only elements of the two attack forces (TF 52 and 53) picked up by the enemy in advance of their arrival at MAKIN and TARAWA. The DALE group was picked up by air search on D - 1 day, but fortunately received no damage.

4. It appears probable that the South Pacific operations against EMPRESS AUGUSTA BAY on BOUGAINVILLE and the rehearsals at EFATE of Task Force 53 may have kept the Japanese high command uncertain up until D day as to where our blow was to be struck. Whatever the cause, the delay on the part of the enemy in sending submarines into the GILBERTS and in reinforcing his striking air strength in the MARSHALLS enabled us to capture our objectives with much less interference from these arms than might have been anticipated.

5. The damage inflicted on enemy cruisers and destroyers in RABAU by the SARATOGA and PRINCETON air attacks on 5 November had the expected result of immobilizing the main elements of the Japanese fleet because of lack of light forces, and of preventing any interference with GALVANIC by enemy surface forces.

6. Enemy submarine action was slow in developing. Our only casualty from submarines was the unfortunate sinking, early on the morning of 24 November, of the LISCOMBE BAY off MAKIN, with the regrettable loss of Rear Admiral Mullinix, Captain Wiltsie, and a large proportion of her officers and men. Reports indicate that the torpedo hit produced an internal explosion which caused the ship practically to disintegrate.

7. Off TARAWA, enemy submarines approached the transport area, but screening and vigorous counter measures prevented any attacks on our ships there. Moderate to fresh surface winds provided excellent sound conditions. One Japanese submarine was definitely sunk by the MEADE and the FRAZIER in this area with three men taken prisoner from her. Several other submarines were detected and attacked by aircraft and destroyers with undetermined, but apparently good, results.

8. Enemy air attacks were kept down by strikes made by our shore based air from CANTON and the ELLICE Islands on NAURU, JALUIT, MILE, TAROA and WOTJE and by our carrier air on NAURU, JALUIT and MILE. As a result of these strikes, no enemy air interference came from NAURU, and a minimum was staged through MILE from other bases further north in the MARSHALLS. Enemy seaplanes based on JALUIT did little of value for the enemy.

9. The only casualty suffered by our ships from air attack in the GILBERTS was the torpedoing of the INDEPENDENCE early on the evening of 20 November in the area to the southwest of TARAWA. Fortunately, the INDEPENDENCE was able to proceed, with one engine-room in commission, to FUNAFUTI for emergency repairs at that base prior to going on to PEARL.

10. Other attacks, some of them very vigorous, were made on our carrier task groups by enemy medium bombers armed with both torpedoes and bombs, but, through skillful maneuvering, gunfire and, in the case of Admiral Radford's Task Group, the use of carrier night fighters, no damage was inflicted on any of our ships.

11. It is significant that the enemy attempted no daylight air attacks. Nuisance night raids on TARAWA were started with the advent of a suitable moon in December, but by this time the airfield was in use and searchlights, AA batteries and radars set up and functioning.

12. Subsequent attacks on enemy air bases were made by two carrier task groups under Rear Admirals Pownall and Montgomery which bombed KWAJALEIN and WOTJE on 4 December; and by a battleship and carrier task group under Rear Admiral Lee which bombed and bombarded NAURU on 8 December. Both of these attacks were made after the ships involved had completed the tasks assigned them in GALVANIC and while returning to their bases at PEARL and the NEW HEBRIDES.

respectively. Carrier air groups in these task forces had their flight crew and aircraft losses made up by planes from the SARATOGA, PRINCETON, INDEPENDENCE and Cardiv 22 before proceeding on these attacks. At the same time, a reassignment of cruisers and battleships was made to these task groups on the basis of their ultimate destinations on the conclusion of GALVANIC.

13. As directed by the Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet, the main attack in the MARSHALLS on 4 December under Rear Admiral Pownall was directed against KWAJALEIN, where enemy naval and merchant type ships, aircraft and shore installations were heavily struck with torpedoes and bombs. A lighter attack was made on JOTJE. TAROA was not attacked. In withdrawing, our two carrier task groups were attacked by enemy aircraft in strength. As a result, the LEXINGTON was hit with one torpedo, but was able to proceed to PEARL under her own power.

14. No details have been received as yet of the bombing and bombardment of NAURU conducted by Rear Admiral Lee on 8 December.

15. The weather in the GILBERTS during the attack phase of GALVANIC was most favorable for us. The sea was smooth, but an eastsoutheasterly wind of 12 - 15 knots prevailed. This wind greatly facilitated our carrier air operations; reduced by one half the fuel expenditure of the carrier task groups during those days when air operations were at a maximum from what it would have been with the light airs that came a few days later; and so permitted us to build up a fuel reserve that removed any concern over shortage of fuel.

16. The equatorial front during most of GALVANIC lay south of JALUIT and MILE and interfered with enemy air operations from those bases. Only occasionally did it move as far south as MAKIN.

17. Of the lessons learned as a result of GALVANIC, the chief and most expensive ones came from the assault and capture of BETIO Island, TARAWA. These are of a technical nature and involve matters such as: types of landing craft best suited for a movement over fringing coral reefs; the amount of preliminary bombing and bombardment required in preparation for the landing; kinds of bombs and shells to be used; and tactics and equipment of the landing force. Matters such as these must be studied and discussed thoroughly by the best qualified personnel before sound conclusions can be reached.

18. The capture of both MAKIN and TARAWA has emphasized the necessity for a full and detailed reconnaissance of heavily defended enemy bases before their capture is attempted. This reconnaissance must include the lagoons and their beaches, if a lagoon landing is to be made. The presence or absence of a fringing coral reef inside the lagoon where the landing is to be made is a matter of the utmost importance in its effect on the types of landing craft to be used. Tidal conditions must also be known. All of this information can best

- 3 -

be obtained by repeated observation and photography from aircraft and submarines.

19. The GALVANIC operation proper started on 6 November with the departure for the objectives of the first of the combatant units involved. D day was 20 November. The landing of the APALAMA garrison was completed on 7 December. The last blow by naval units was struck at NAURU on 8 December (all west longitude dates).

20. While GALVANIC itself thus occupied one month, the preliminary planning, movement of ships, and training of units took up a period slightly greater than the preceding two months. It is estimated that the consolidation and building up of our newly occupied bases in the GILBERTS will require a succeeding period of from one to two months before these bases can be effectively used to support a successive operation.

21. Throughout GALVANIC the Commander Central Pacific Force was particularly gratified by the intelligent initiative displayed by all task force, group and unit commanders. All hands contributed their best efforts to the carrying out of our mission.

22. The high light of the campaign, and the part that will be longest remembered in American history, was the magnificent courage and tenacity of the Second Marine Division in carrying on their assault on BETIO Island for a period of four days after suffering staggering losses. Nothing in the record of the Marine Corps can exceed the heroism displayed at TARAWA by the officers and men of the Second Marine Division and by the naval units that accompanied them in their landing.

R. A. Spruance

Encl: Two copies.

10 December 1943

OPERATION GALVANIC REPORT

The action report from Admiral Raymond Spruance detailing the role of his Central Pacific Fleet in the 'island-hopping' campaigns of 6 November to 8 December 1943. His carriers played a critical role in supplying air support for the brief island campaigns.



MONGOLIA

MANCHURIA

CHINA

KOREA

JAPAN

Tokyo

Nanking

Shanghai



Battle for Saipan,
June 15–July 9, 1944

IWO JIMA



Battle of the
Philippine Sea,
June 19–21, 1944

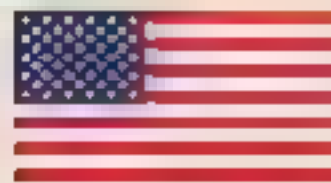
MARIANA
ISLANDS



Battle of Leyte Gulf,
October 23–26, 1944



General MacArthur returns
to the Philippines,
October 1944



Battle for Peleliu,
September 15–end of
November, 1944

MACARTHUR

Southwest Pacific Area

Hollandia

Rabaul

NEW GUINEA

Port Moresby

Darwin

AUSTRALIA

INDIAN OCEAN

BORNEO

CELEBES

DUTCH EAST INDIES

TIMOR

Batavia (Jakarta)

Singapore

MALAY STATES

FRENCH
INDO-
CHINA

Saigon

SIAM

Rangoon

BURMA

FORMOSA

Hong Kong

PACIFIC THEATRE 1944

KEY TO MAPS

-  Imperial Japanese Navy
-  Japanese army
-  Japanese military advances
-  U.S. military forces
-  U.S. military advances
-  Air attacks
-  Army land battles
-  Aircraft carrier fleet
-  Airfields
-  Limit of Japanese expansion

PELELIU



LEYTE GULF



Battle for Guam,
July 21–August 10, 1944

Battle for the
Marshall Islands,
February 1–23, 1944

WAKE ISLAND

MIDWAY

MARSHALL
ISLANDS

SOLOMON
ISLANDS

15 JUNE-
10 AUGUST 1944

THE MARIANAS: DEFENCE TO THE DEATH

After the island-hopping attacks on the Gilbert and Marshall Islands in the Central Pacific, Admiral Nimitz, commander-in-chief Pacific Ocean Areas, determined to capture the Marianas, a group of islands including Saipan and Guam, which were within air radius of the Japanese home islands for attacks by the new Boeing B-29 heavy bomber. Air attacks began on the island defences in February 1944, and in early June, Vice Admiral Spruance's Fifth Fleet, with a grand total of 530 ships, arrived in the seas off Saipan to undertake a massive bombardment of Lieutenant General Yoshitsugu Saito's Japanese forces, whose estimated 25-30,000 soldiers were dug in to resist the American invasion to the last man.

On 15 June, elements of Lieutenant General Holland Smith's V Amphibious Corps, the Second and Fourth Marine Divisions, attacked the southwestern beaches of Saipan through dangerous reefs and on beaches overlooked by high ground from which Japanese artillery could send a destructive barrage. Saito planned to contain the beachhead and then destroy it, but a steady flow of American reinforcements produced a breakout by day three and the seizure of Aslito airfield. Progress thereafter was slow against suicidal Japanese resistance and an operation planned for three days took three weeks to complete. On the night of 6-7 July the remains of the Japanese garrison in the north of the island undertook the largest banzai charge of the war. On 9 July, when the overall US commander Admiral Turner announced that Saipan was officially secured, Japanese soldiers and civilians leapt to their deaths from Marpi Point at the far northern tip of the island. The US forces suffered 3,500 dead but only 2,000 from the 32,000 of Saito's force were taken prisoner.

Two weeks later, on 21 July, Major General Roy Geiger's Third Amphibious Corps began the assault on Guam, an island ceded to the United States by Spain in



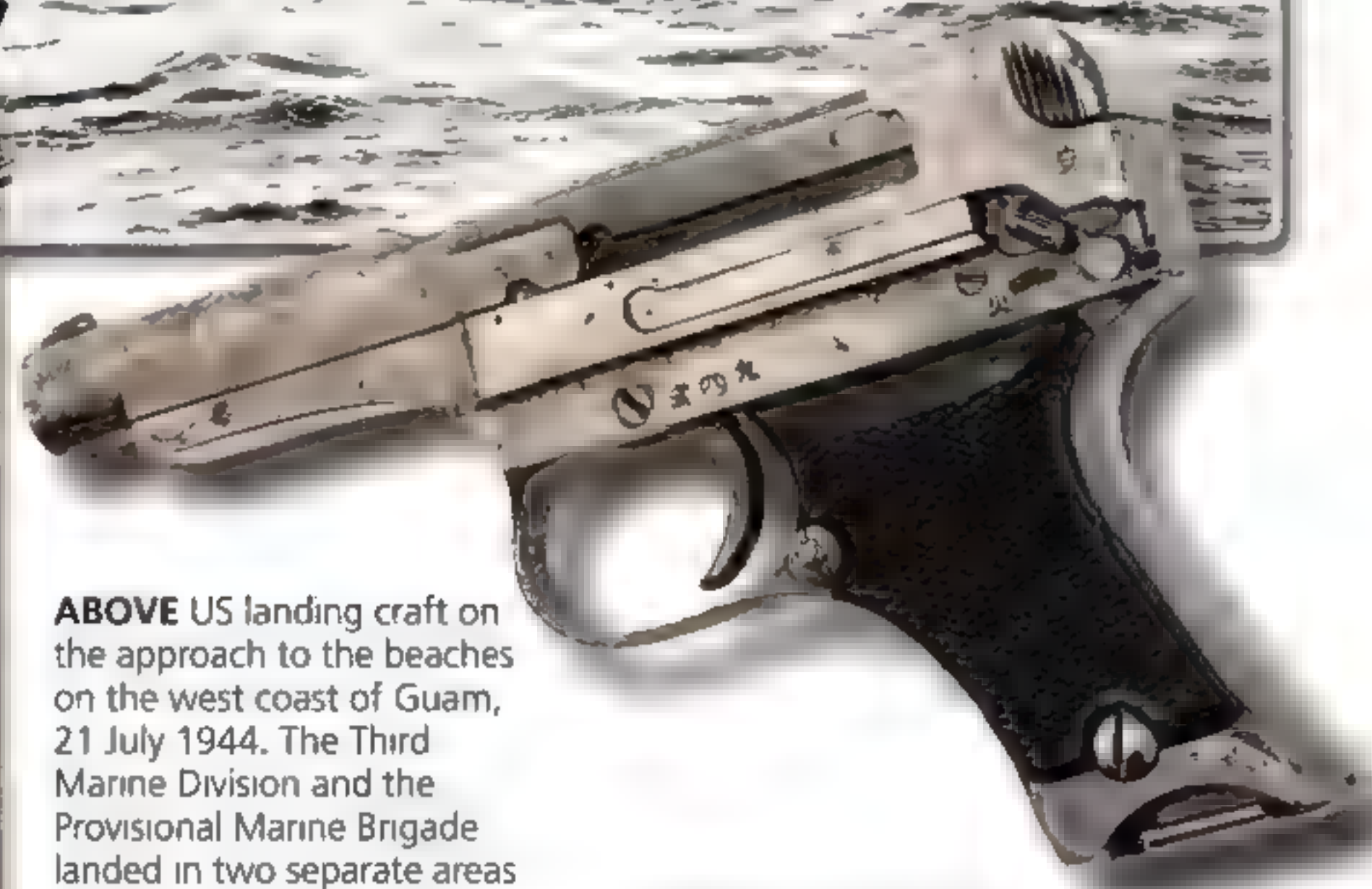
1898, which had been occupied by the Japanese navy at the start of the Pacific War. The island was defended by 5,500 navy troops under Captain Yutaka Sugimoto and 13,000 army soldiers commanded by Lieutenant General Takeshi Takashima. They were dug in to prepared positions in the rugged mountainous district of the island around Mount Alifan. The beach landings on the west coast of Guam were less costly than on Saipan, though difficult to negotiate because of carefully constructed

ABOVE An American battleship bombards the Japanese-held island of Guam on 20 July 1944, one day before the invasion. The bombardment by ships and aircraft was the heaviest and most co-ordinated of the Pacific War, leaving the Japanese garrison in a stunned state when the first wave of American marines reached the beaches



LIEUTENANT GENERAL HOLLAND "HOWLIN' MAD" SMITH (1882-1967)

Holland Smith is generally regarded as the father of United States amphibious warfare. He joined the marines in 1905 and saw service in the Philippines (where he won the nickname "Howlin' Mad") and later in the First World War in France in 1917-18. He remained a Marine officer after the war and by 1937 was in charge of operations and training at Marine Corps headquarters. In 1941, he became the first commander of the US 1st Marine Division and in June that year was chosen to train the first dedicated amphibious warfare divisions. In August 1942, he took command of the Amphibious Corps, Pacific Fleet, which became the V Amphibious Corps for the operations against the Gilbert and Mariana islands. He commanded the expeditionary troops for the invasion of Iwo Jima before returning to the United States in July 1945 to take over the Marine Training and Replacement Camp. He retired in May 1946 and died after a long illness in 1967.



ABOVE US landing craft on the approach to the beaches on the west coast of Guam, 21 July 1944. The Third Marine Division and the Provisional Marine Brigade landed in two separate areas strongly supported by the ships and aircraft of Task Force 58. A destroyer can be seen in the distance.

ABOVE Japanese type 94 pistol. 70,000 of these were produced during 1935-45



obstacles, but there followed a week of fierce fighting in which Japanese troops engaged in regular banzai charges, knowing full well that there was no prospect of reinforcement or fresh supplies. The island was finally secured by 10 August at the cost of a further 1,744 American dead. Only a handful of the Japanese garrison survived, retreating into the jungle areas where the last one surrendered in 1972.

While Guam was under attack, a further American assault was made on the smaller island of Tinian, three miles (five kilometres) south of Saipan, by 15,000 men of the 4th Marine Division. The island was secured by 1 August, by which time American engineers (the famous Construction Battalions or "See-Bees") had already begun to construct the first B-29 airfields. The battles for all three islands had been very costly to both sides, but Japanese resistance in defence of the outer perimeter of the home island area was now almost entirely suicidal. The fall of Saipan was greeted with dismay in Tokyo and the Japanese prime minister, General

BELOW US marines and tanks advance against the Japanese 31st Army across one of the few level areas of Saipan. General Saito withdrew into the high mountains in the center of the island and three weeks were needed to finally dislodge him



LIEUTENANT GENERAL YOSHITSUGU SAITO (1890–1944)

A career cavalryman who saw his first service as a very young soldier in the last stage of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, Saito rose to the rank of major general in the Kwantung Army in China as chief of cavalry operations. In April 1944, he was appointed to command the Japanese Army's 43rd Division which was moving to Saipan. He became overall commander of the island's forces and organised the final banzai charge against the US forces on 7 July, determined that everyone should die rather than surrender an island so close to the Japanese homeland. On 10 July, he committed hara-kiri and was given a final bullet by his adjutant.



Hideki Tojo, was forced to resign from all his military and administrative positions, to be succeeded by Lieutenant General Kuniaki Koiso. The fierce defence of the Marianas made it clear that even if the defeat of Japan was now inevitable, the invasion of the heart of the Japanese Empire was likely to exact a heavy, perhaps insupportable, toll on the American forces involved.

BELOW A Japanese baby is carried down a mountainside on Saipan to a waiting ambulance jeep by a US marine. The baby was the only survivor found in an area of Saipan where Japanese resistance was being cleared. Many Japanese civilians committed suicide rather than fall into American hands



ABOVE A Japanese type 97 hand grenade. They were filled with TNT, with a time-delayed fuse of four or five seconds



19-21 JUNE 1944

BATTLE OF THE PHILIPPINE SEA

Once it became clear that the United States was about to attack the Marianas, the Japanese navy launched Operation "A-Go", a further attempt to bring a large part of the US Pacific Fleet to battle and at the same time prevent the fall of Saipan and Guam. Two large Japanese task forces, Vice Admiral Ozawa's 1st Mobile Fleet and Vice Admiral Matome Ugaki's Southern Force, were to rendezvous in the Philippine Sea before moving to engage the US Task Force 58 commanded by Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher. Ozawa hoped that the prevailing trade winds would make it difficult for Mitscher's carrier aircraft to engage the Japanese over long distances, while he could rely not only on his 473 aircraft and nine aircraft carriers, but also on shore-based aircraft in the Marianas.

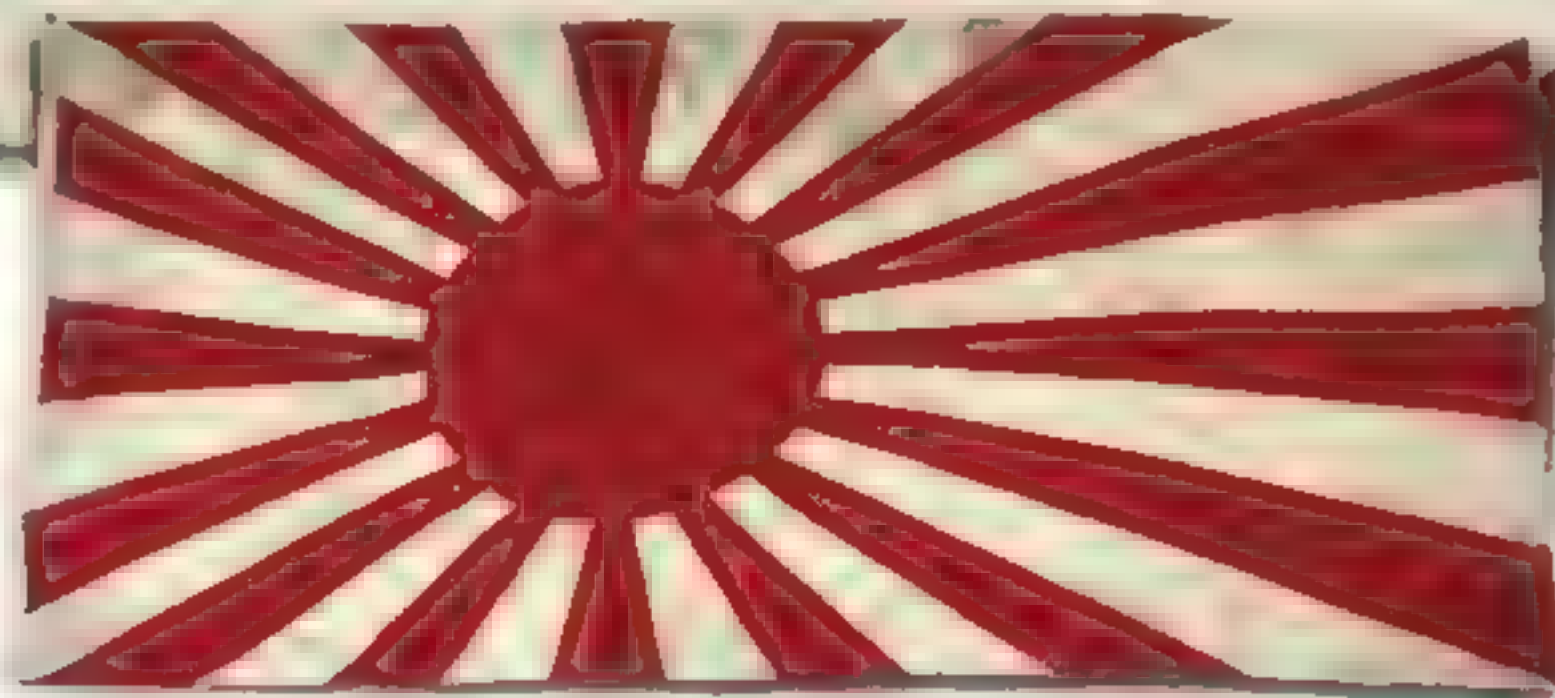
On 19 June, the stage was set for the largest carrier battle of the war. Ozawa had nine carriers, five battleships, 13 cruisers and 28 destroyers against Mitscher's 15 carriers and light carriers, seven battleships, 21 cruisers and 69 destroyers. The task for Admiral Spruance, in overall command of US forces, was more difficult because it was also essential to protect the difficult invasion of Saipan, which had begun on 15 June, but he had the advantage that intelligence sources had already identified the "A-Go" operation and reported the probable position of the Japanese fleets. Rather than seek combat, he and Mitscher waited for the Japanese to find them, confident that the much larger number of American aircraft, over 900 in total, would defend the fleet against attack. Even before the opening engagement, 17 out of 25 Japanese submarines were sunk, while many of the land-based aircraft were destroyed on Saipan and Guam by heavy air attacks.



VICE ADMIRAL JISABURO OZAWA (1886-1966)

Jisaburo Ozawa was one of the Japanese navy's most experienced commanders and played a central part in the naval operations of the Pacific War. He was remarkably tall at 6 feet 7 inches (2 metres), and was later nicknamed "Gargoyle" by his men on account of his poor looks. He graduated as an officer cadet in 1909 and by 1919 commanded a destroyer. In the 1930s, he became a senior staff officer, serving as chief-of-staff of the Combined Fleet in 1937. Promoted to vice admiral in 1940, he became commander-in-chief of the Southern Expeditionary Fleet for the invasion of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. In November 1942, he took over the 3rd Fleet and became commander of carrier forces and it was in this role that he suffered defeat in the Battle of the Philippine Sea. He tried to resign after the defeat but remained in post for the Battle of Leyte Gulf. On 29 May 1945, he became commander-in-chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy and, unlike many of his colleagues, did not commit suicide at the surrender, but survived to help with the demobilization of the navy.

RIGHT The war ensign of the Japanese navy



BELOW A Curtiss Helldiver SB2C dive-bomber warms up on the deck of a carrier in Task Force 58, the carrier fleet assigned to support the island-hopping campaign in the Marianas in June 1944. Brought into service in 1943, the Helldiver had a radius of 895 miles (1,440 kilometres) and a top speed of 295 miles (475 kilometres) per hour



LEFT The skyline is filled with anti-aircraft fire from the US fleet under attack from Japanese torpedo bombers on 19 June 1944 during the Battle of the Philippine Sea. The picture was taken from the deck of the USS Alabama



ABOVE The commander of Task Force 58, Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher, aboard his flagship, the aircraft carrier USS Lexington, on 19 June 1944, the first day of the battle which proved to be the largest carrier battle of the war



TOP RIGHT A photograph taken from the deck of USS Birmingham of a flight of 23 carrier-based fighters from US Task Force 58 during the Battle of the Philippine Sea on 20 June 1944. The aircraft are preparing to intercept Japanese dive-bombers and torpedo-bombers attacking the US fleet west of the island of Guam. In the "Great Marianas Turkey Shoot" the Japanese lost 65 per cent of their air forces committed

When Ozawa's aircraft found Mitscher's fleet early in the morning of the 19 June, the Japanese plan was already compromised.

What followed went down in American airpower history as the "Great Marianas Turkey Shoot". Superior US aircraft, with radar and effective radio interception, destroyed the attackers at will. Japanese losses numbered 243 out of the 373 committed, while American losses were only 30. There then followed a further air battle over Guam which cost another 50 Japanese planes. During the battle, US submarines sank Ozawa's flagship carrier Taiho and the carrier Shokaku, both of which were lost in the mid-afternoon. On the following day, Ozawa was unclear about the extent of his losses, but sailed away from the US fleet hoping to re-engage. US aircraft found his ships early in the evening of 20 June and, although at the end of their range and with risk that the aircraft would have to be recovered to the carriers at night, Mitscher ordered a wave of attacks. Another Japanese carrier was sunk and two more were badly damaged. Around 100 aircraft were lost during the battle, in the sea or in crashes on the carrier decks. But ultimately it was a comprehensive victory – Ozawa was

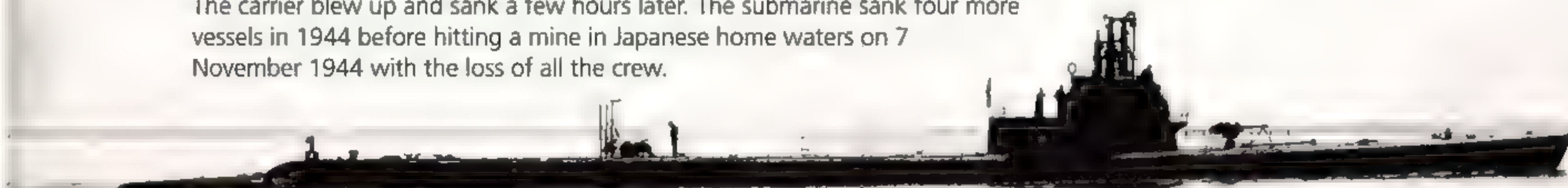
left with only 35 serviceable aircraft out of the 473 with which he had begun the battle.

The battle was a major victory for the US Pacific Fleet and it left the Japanese navy in a state from which it never effectively recovered. Ozawa was ordered on 20 June to disengage, having failed to sink a single American vessel or to prevent the final conquest of Saipan. His battered fleet retired to Okinawa, arriving on 22 June. Mitscher ordered further attacks on Japanese shore-based aircraft, over 200 of which were destroyed during the course of the naval battle. The gap that opened up between US and Japanese capability in the air spelt the end of any prospect that the heavy units of the Japanese fleet could engage and destroy the warships of the enemy. The Battle of the Philippine Sea, like the Battle of Midway in June 1942, was fought without a single engagement between surface vessels.

ABOVE A Grumman Avenger pilot, Roland "Rip" Gift, has a drink in the ready room of USS Monterey after a successful night landing on the carrier, 20 June 1944. Around 100 aircraft were lost trying to get back to the US carriers at nightfall

US SUBMARINE ALBACORE

The American submarine Albacore was a Gato class vessel laid down by the Electric Boat Company in April 1941 and launched in February 1942. The submarine played a part in much of the Pacific campaign, hunting for merchant vessels and warships. She sank her first naval vessel in December 1942, and on 19 June 1944 had the distinction of damaging the flagship of Vice Admiral Ozawa, the aircraft carrier Taiho, forcing him to transfer command to a destroyer and disrupting Japanese communications at a critical moment in the Battle of the Philippine Sea. The carrier blew up and sank a few hours later. The submarine sank four more vessels in 1944 before hitting a mine in Japanese home waters on 7 November 1944 with the loss of all the crew.



12 SEPTEMBER-
27 NOVEMBER 1944

THE BATTLE OF PELELIU

The capture of the small island of Peleliu in the autumn of 1944 was supposed to take only three or four days; the assault lasted two months and was one of the costliest battles of the entire Pacific War. The island was part of the Palau group, at the western end of the Caroline Islands. It had an airfield and the whole group of islands housed around 30,000 Japanese servicemen, 11,000 of them on Peleliu. The garrisoned island lay on the right flank of the planned army assault on the Philippines and its neutralization was felt to be an important objective by both the army and navy. When MacArthur won support from Roosevelt for the army campaign, the assault on Peleliu was finally approved.

The US 1st Marine Division of approximately 17,500 men was detailed to carry out the assault. The commander, Major General William Rupertus, assumed that the island could be captured very quickly and adopted the conventional tactics of previous island campaigns. A heavy bombardment would be followed by waves of assault craft on three beaches on the island; the attacking force would then break the Japanese perimeter, capture the airfield and mop up remaining resistance. On Peleliu, however, the local Japanese commander of the 14th Infantry Division, Colonel Kunio Nakagawa, planned a different strategy to absorb the American attack. A battalion of defenders was left on the perimeter, dug deep into coral rock, with steel doors sealing the entrances to the bunkers and a mixture of heavy machine guns and artillery deployed in support. The rest of his force was deployed inland, on the high ground of Umurbrogol mountain. Here, too, deep bunkers were constructed out of almost 500 small caves carved into the coral rock. Similarly sealed and provisioned with plentiful food and ammunition, the bunkers were cunningly designed to give a deadly field of supporting fire against any oncoming attacker.

RIGHT Hundreds of landing craft of the 1st US Marine Division streak toward the beaches of Peleliu island during the initial invasion on 15 September 1944. Heavy naval bombardment from offshore vessels covers the island in a blanket of smoke



RIGHT The Navy Cross, the highest decoration awarded by the US Navy – a total of 69 were awarded to participants in the Battle for Peleliu



ABOVE The 1st Marine Division storm ashore from beached "Alligator" vehicles at Peleliu island, Palau on 20 September 1944. The smoke is from a burning "Alligator"

BELOW A Marine assault group advances on the beaches of Peleliu under heavy Japanese fire. The three-day air and naval bombardment of the island before the landing made very little dent in the Japanese defences

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM RUPERTUS (1889–1945)

William Rupertus joined the US Marines before the First World War and served in Haiti during the period of American belligerency in 1917-18. He was an excellent shot and the author of *The Rifleman's Creed*, a manual to encourage high standards of marksmanship. When war broke out against Japan he was an Assistant Division Commander of the 1st Marine Division. He played a part in the capture of Tulagi in the Guadalcanal campaign, and in 1943 assumed command of the division, which he led in the battle for Peleliu. In November 1944, with the island in US hands, he was appointed Commandant of the Marine Corps School in Virginia, where he died of a heart attack a few months later.



Following a devastating air and naval bombardment, which began on 12 September 1944 and lasted for three days, the 1st Marines began the assault. Nakagawa's tactics worked with great success. The garrison suffered very little from the bombardment, and the shoreline battalion opened up a withering fire on the approaching landing craft. The Marines were pinned down on the beaches and took high casualties. By the end of the first day little more than the two miles (3.2 kilometres) of beach on which they had landed were held. Casualties amounted to 1,100 dead and wounded.

The following day the 5th Marine Regiment captured the airfield and moved along the less-defended eastern part of the island. By September 18 US aircraft could use the airfield, and a week later Corsairs began dive-bombing attacks on Japanese dugouts with rockets and napalm.

The rest of the Marine force remained pinned down until the capture of the Japanese positions overlooking the landing beaches. Nicknamed "The Point", the rocky area was finally captured after bitter hand-to-hand fighting by the Marines of the 1st Marine Regiment, led by Captain George Hunt. At the end of the operation Hunt had only 18 men left in his company, with 157 casualties. The 1st Marines then moved on to the heavily defended Umurbrogol mountain where they found that Nakagawa had prepared a concealed and heavily armed mountain fortress. Over six days of fighting for what the Marines called "Bloody Nose Ridge", exceptional casualties were suffered. Japanese snipers picked off approaching Marines from positions high above them; at night small groups of Japanese soldiers infiltrated Marine lines and killed their attackers; unlike the usual banzai attacks, Nakagawa's men remained hidden and fired only when they could inflict losses on the enemy.

So high were Marine casualties – the 1st Marine Regiment suffered 60 percent losses – that on 23 September the overall commander of the III Amphibious Corps, General Roy Geiger, decided to bring in Army support. Between mid-September and mid-October the 5th and 7th Marine Regiments took 50 per cent casualties along the mountain ridges. They were gradually



ABOVE LEFT A Marine on Peleliu. Casualties were extremely high – the capture of Peleliu resulted in 1,784 US deaths and over 8,000 wounded

ABOVE RIGHT Flames leap into Japanese caves from an amphibious tractor. The island was heavily fortified with bunkers and caves, and fire proved the most effective way of clearing the positions. Napalm was used here in large amounts. Mount Umbrigol alone had more than 500 caves linked by an intricate system of tunnels, making capture of the island extremely difficult

replaced by the Army's 81st Infantry Division, which also took very high casualties. By the end of October the Marines had been withdrawn to rest on Guadalcanal. The Army continued to battle the ridge for another month before it was finally secured, though not entirely cleared. Each dugout had to be assaulted in turn with rocket fire, smoke grenades and rifle grenades. Like Japanese soldiers everywhere in the Pacific War, death was preferred to surrender. The Japanese death rate for the whole battle was 98 percent. Around 200 survived. The last Japanese to surrender on Peleliu gave themselves up in April 1947.

The island battle cost the US forces 1,794 killed and 8,010 wounded, while Japanese deaths totalled 10,695. Although the airfield was brought into use, it proved unnecessary for MacArthur's assault on the Philippines or for US naval operations further to the north at Okinawa and Iwo Jima. What the battle did show was the new form of Japanese battle tactics, which were repeated elsewhere. The closer the US forces got to mainland Japan, the fiercer and more effective the opposition.



RIGHT The M1919 Browning machine gun. It was used by US troops throughout the Pacific War

CAPTAIN EVERETT POPE (1919–2009)

During the horrific fighting to capture the high ground on the island of Peleliu in September 1944, Everett Pope led a company of the 1st Marine Division to capture what was called Hill 100. His bravery during the battle earned him a Medal of Honor. Pope was born in Massachusetts and joined the Marines in June 1941. He saw action in the landings on Guadalcanal in 1942 and the assault on New Britain in December 1943. His unit then took part in the campaign on Peleliu where, on 20 September, his company of 90 men held off repeated Japanese attacks throughout the night. Low on ammunition, his men used coral rocks and ammunition cases to beat off the Japanese. When ordered to withdraw there were only nine men left fit for combat. He was posted back to the US in November 1944. He finally left the Marines in 1951 and pursued a long career as a banker. He died in 2009 and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery





ICONIC MOMENT

Chaplain ND Linder leads a benediction aboard the USS South Dakota, as crewman take a moment to honour their fellow shipmates killed in action during aerial combat over Guam.





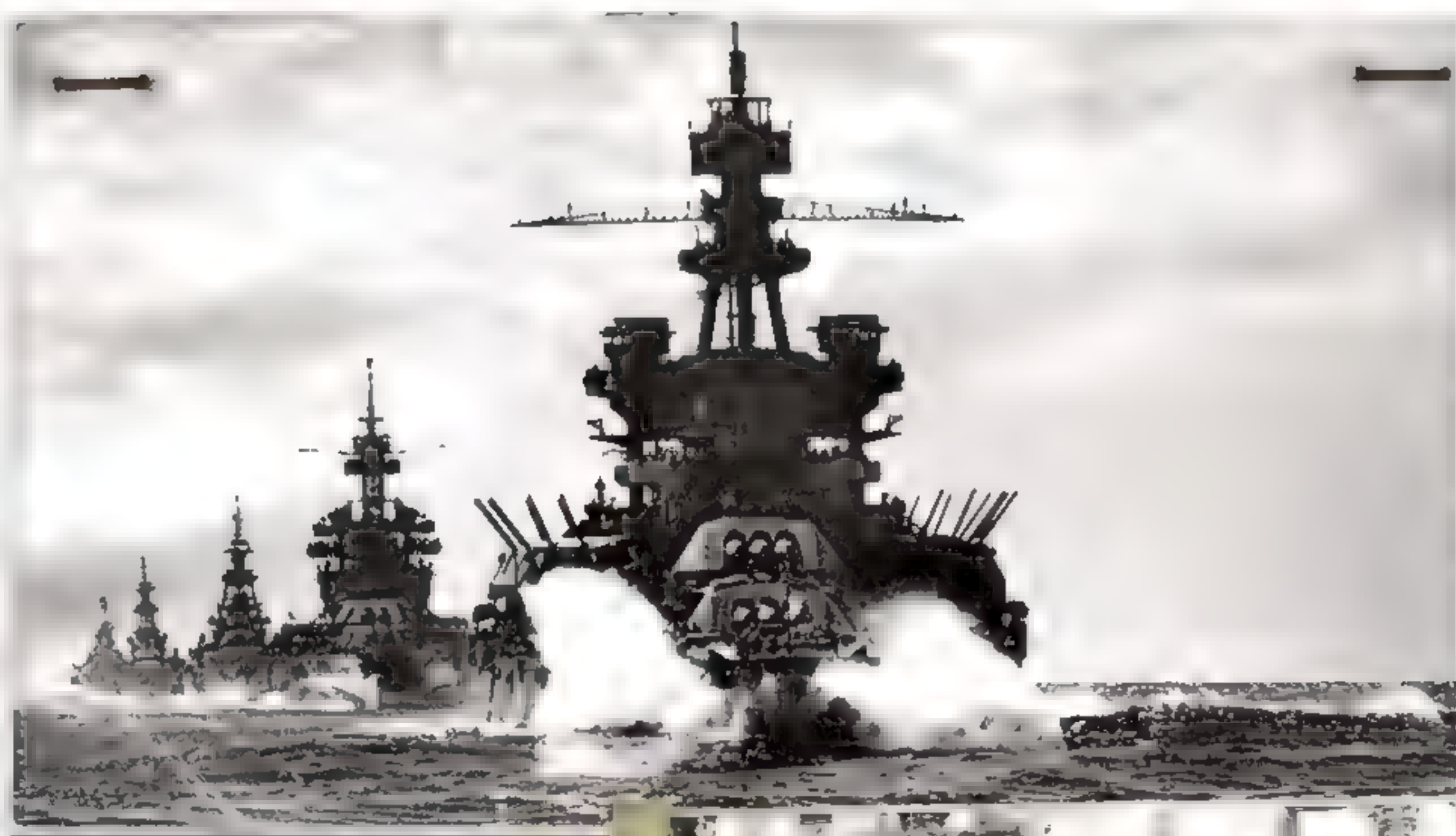
★ 20 OCTOBER 1944-
14 AUGUST 1945

RETURN TO THE PHILIPPINES

In July 1944, American commanders met in Hawaii to decide on the future course of the war against Japan. The navy favoured a direct approach to Japan itself, supported, while the army, represented by General MacArthur, wanted to liberate the Philippines, first to establish secure bases for further operations, second as a point of honour to free the islands from Japanese rule. Roosevelt ruled in MacArthur's favour and in September 1944 carrier-borne aircraft began a systematic destruction of Japanese air power on the islands.

The American planners chose the island of Leyte, in the more weakly defended central area of the islands, as the starting point for the invasion. In mid-October, 700 ships and approximately 174,000 men sailed into position. On 17 October, US Rangers landed on the smaller islands of Suluan and Dinagat to secure the approaches to Leyte Gulf. Three days later, on the morning of 20 October, four divisions landed on Leyte against minimal resistance. While a major naval battle developed in and around the landing area on 24 and 25 October, the Japanese 35th Army was pushed back and airfields were secured. The Japanese commander in the Philippines, General Tomoyuki Yamashita, the conqueror of Malaya, decided to make Leyte the point at which to contest the American campaign and 45-50,000 reinforcements were sent over the following two months. By mid-December, however, the Americans had landed some 200,000 men on the island, and organised Japanese resistance ended on 19 December with over 80,000 Japanese dead, although sporadic fighting continued for a further week.

While the grip on Leyte was consolidated, MacArthur ordered assault forces to seize the island of Mindoro as a stepping stone to the conquest of the main island of

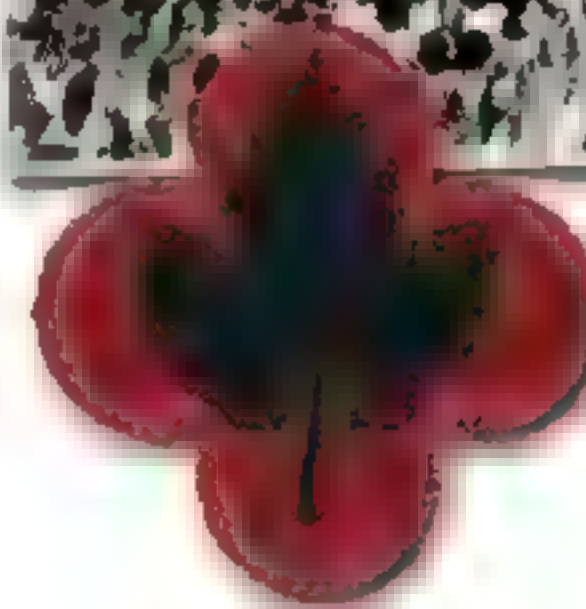


ABOVE Ships of US Task Force 38 sail into Lingayen Gulf on the western coast of the Philippine island of Luzon shortly before the landings scheduled for 9 January. Japanese positions were subjected to a heavy and continuous bombardment. The lead ship is the battleship USS Pennsylvania

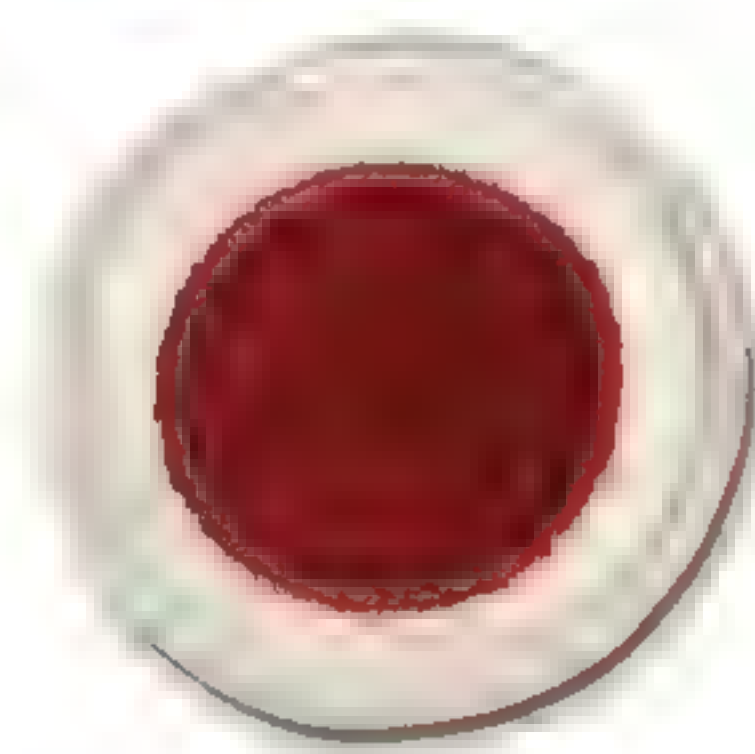


RIGHT American civilian prisoners of the Japanese at the Santo Tomas University prison camp in Manila welcome US troops after liberation on 6 February 1945. Conditions at the camp, as in all Japanese camps, led to high levels of death from mistreatment and debilitation

BELOW One of the most famous photographs of the Pacific War shows General Douglas MacArthur wading ashore at Leyte Gulf in the southern Philippines in mid-October 1944 to redeem the promise he made when he left in 1942 that "I shall return". The photograph was deliberately staged; MacArthur had come ashore less ostentatiously a little while before



LEFT Badge of the US 43rd Division



RIGHT Badge of the US 37th Division



Luzon. On 15 December Mindoro was invaded and by the middle of January 1945 it was secured. On 9 January, two corps of Lieutenant General Krueger's Sixth Army landed at Lingayen Bay on the west coast of Luzon and rapidly advanced across the central plain to the capital, Manila. Yamashita decided not to contest the advance but to hold his sizeable army in the mountains, forcing the Americans to fight a protracted and costly campaign. Although the Japanese High Command had decided to abandon Luzon, and sent no further reinforcements from mid-January, the surviving garrison decided to fight to the death as had many others during the island campaign. Rear Admiral Sanji Iwabuchi retreated with a force of sailors into Manila and held out in the city between 3 February, when the Sixth Army arrived, and 3 March when the Japanese force was all but annihilated. During the siege around 100,000 Filipinos were killed by artillery fire, conflagrations and the deliberate violence by the desperate Japanese forces. The battle for Manila cost US forces around 1,000 dead against 16,000 Japanese.



LIEUTENANT GENERAL WALTER KRUEGER (1881–1967)

Walter Krueger had the distinction of being born in Germany, the son of a Prussian aristocrat, and then after emigrating with his family to the United States in 1889, to have risen through the ranks of the US Army from volunteer private to general. He first saw action in the Spanish-American war of 1898 in Cuba; then the next year went to the Philippines where he fought against the Filipino insurrection following America's overthrow of the Spanish colonial regime. He stayed in the army and was posted to France in 1918 despite French objections to his German origins. At the start of the Second World War, he was in command of the US Third Army, but in January 1943 he was posted to the southwest Pacific in command of Sixth Army, in which he founded the Alamo Scouts, whose job, like the Chindits, was to act in small groups behind enemy lines. He led the army through all the campaigns of the region and ended up occupying Japan late in 1945. He was promoted to full general when he retired in July 1946.



LEFT The port of Manila under heavy artillery bombardment on 23 February 1945 as the US Sixth Army fought for the capital. Caught in the crossfire are thought to have been around 100,000 Filipino civilians. Many killed by the Japanese occupiers

While Manila was secured, US forces captured the Bataan Peninsula and the fortress of Corregidor, scene of the final American defence three years before. Before the fortress fell, Japanese forces ignited a large munitions dump, creating a colossal explosion, a fitting finale to the eclipse of Japanese power in the islands. Over the following months, some 38 separate landings to clear the southern and central islands were made by Lieutenant General Eichelberger's Eighth US Army in collaboration with Filipino guerrillas. In June, Krueger's Sixth Army was withdrawn. Over the course of the whole campaign the Japanese garrisons, some of which continued to exist in mountains and jungles until the end of the war, endured overwhelmingly high losses. In the conquest of the islands the American forces lost 10,381 killed, 36,631 wounded and over 93,000 casualties from sickness and accident.

While American forces were securing the Philippines, a less glamorous campaign was waged further to the west, as Australian troops cleared Japanese positions in Borneo and the Dutch East Indies to secure the oil supplies there, while the remaining Japanese soldiers, beyond any prospect of reinforcement or assistance, spent the rest of the war in a vicious conflict with local anti-Japanese guerrillas organized by the Special Operations Australia units infiltrated onto the island in March and April 1945. The last Japanese surrendered only in October 1945.



ABOVE Troops of the 9th Australian Division land from a US landing ship on the island of Labuan off the coast of the island of Borneo on 10 June 1945. Australian and Dutch forces, supported by Australian and US ships, re-occupied key areas in the East Indies in the last months of the war

RIGHT Japanese General Tomoyuki Yamashita, commander of Japanese forces on the island of Luzon, washes his hands after surrendering to the Americans on 2 September 1945. He was later tried for war crimes and executed



★ 23-26 OCTOBER
1944

THE BATTLE OF LEYTE GULF

The naval battle off the Philippine island of Leyte was the largest naval engagement of the war and it led to the final decisive defeat of the Japanese Combined Fleet. For once the balance of intelligence between the two sides tilted in favour of Japan. When Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet and Vice Admiral Thomas Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet arrived off the island of Leyte to launch the first landings, the Japanese naval High Command, under Admiral Soemu Toyoda, planned a final showdown with the American navy codenamed Operation "Sho-Go" ("Victory"). This time the American commanders did not know the nature of the Japanese plan and the final assault on the American invasion forces in the Philippines achieved a large measure of surprise.

Toyoda's plan was to lure Halsey's powerful Third Fleet into an engagement off the north of the Philippines with what remained of the Japanese carrier force while two other naval groups, Center Force under Vice Admiral Takeo Kurita and Southern Force commanded by Vice Admiral Kiyohide Shima, sailed through narrow straits on either side of Leyte in order to attack and destroy the American landings in a powerful pincer movement. The whole plan relied completely on Halsey taking the bait of an attack on the Japanese carriers, allowing the battleships and cruisers of the other two elements of the Japanese navy to overwhelm any of the American forces left behind.



ABOVE The Battle of Leyte Gulf saw Japanese suicide attacks by aircraft for the first time. Here a Japanese Mitsubishi Zero-Sen "Zeke" fighter prepares to dive on the USS carrier White Plains. The US Navy lost just six ships during the battle. Suicide tactics became significant only in 1945 in the approach to the Japanese home islands

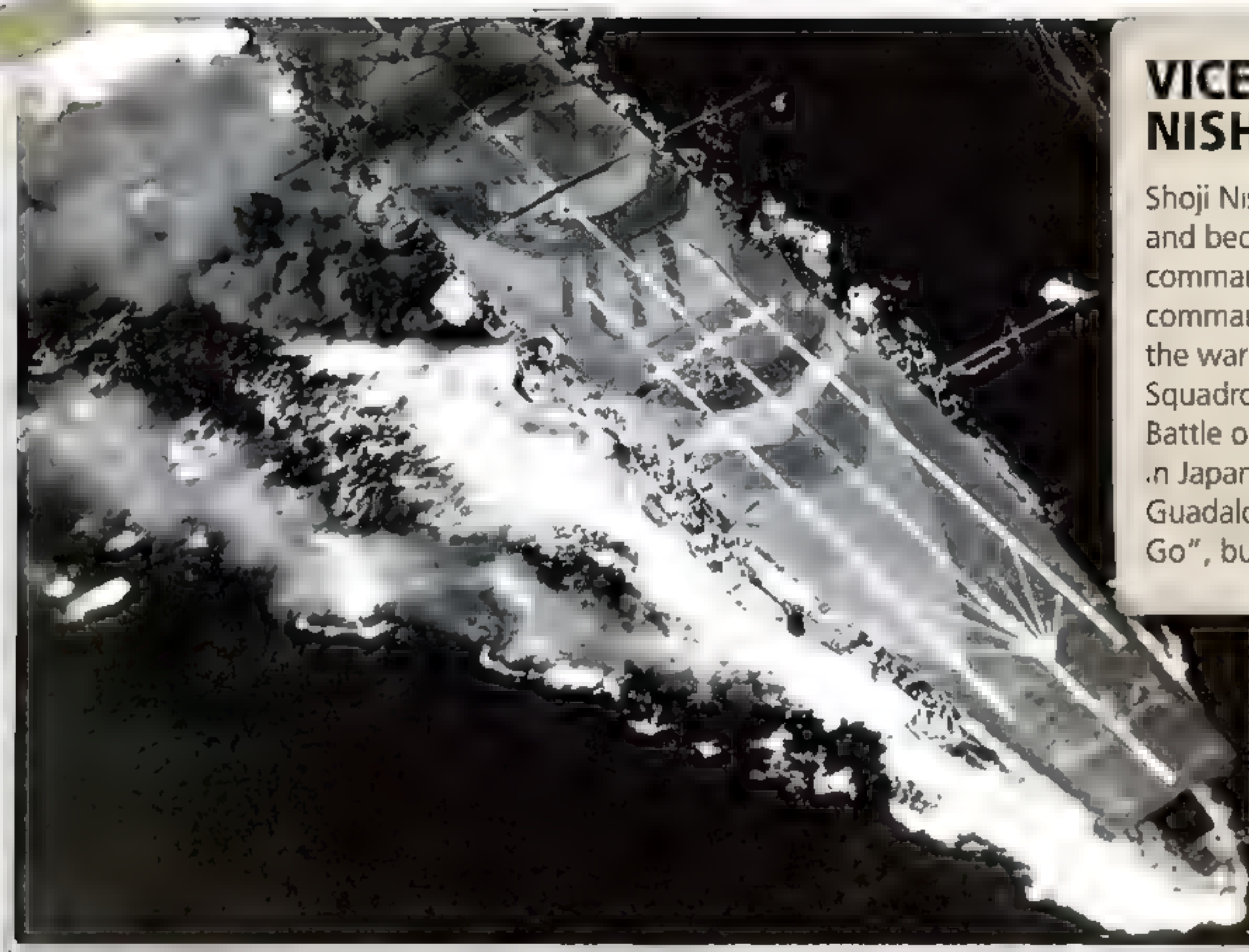
The plan worked better than might have been expected, since both the Southern Force and Center Force were detected and attacked when they sailed into position on 23 October. Center Force lost two cruisers on passage from Brunei, and a further battleship and destroyer to air attack in the Sibuyan Sea, west of Leyte, forcing Kurita to withdraw temporarily. The first branch of Southern Force arrived at the Surigao Strait, leading to the landing area, but was spotted by American motor torpedo boats and subjected first to torpedo attacks by destroyers, then, as it sailed towards its destination, Rear Admiral Jesse Oldendorf's force of battleships and cruisers performed a classic crossing of the "T", subjecting the Japanese force to a thunderous broadside that sank all but two ships in the space of two hours. As the remaining ships retreated, the cruiser Mogami collided with a ship from the second part of Southern Force and was sunk by American aircraft during the morning of 25 October. Shima withdrew from the battle, leaving Kurita to attack with only one arm of the pincer still intact.

LEFT The Independence-class carrier USS Princeton on fire during the Battle of Leyte Gulf following an attack by a land-based Japanese dive-bomber on the morning of 24 October. Hosepipes are directed from the cruiser USS Birmingham in an attempt to bring the fire under control, but an explosion on the stricken ship badly damaged Birmingham before the carrier sank in the late afternoon.

VICE ADMIRAL JESSE B OLDENDORF (1887-1974)

Jesse "Oley" Oldendorf commanded the last victorious fleet engagement fought exclusively by surface vessels unsupported by aircraft when his task force defeated the Japanese Southern Force off Leyte in the Philippines. He joined the US Navy in 1909 and commanded his first ship by 1922. In the early stages of the war he was posted to anti-submarine duty in the Caribbean and then commanded the Western Atlantic escort forces from May to December 1943. Posted to the Pacific in January 1944, Oldendorf commanded Cruiser Division 4 in the Marshall Islands, the Marianas and the invasion of the Philippines. In December 1944, he was promoted to vice admiral and was wounded during the invasion of Okinawa. He commanded the Western Sea Frontier after the war and retired in 1948.





ABOVE A Japanese Zuiho-class carrier under attack on 25 October 1944 by aircraft of Air Group 20 from the carrier USS Enterprise. The photograph was taken from a torpedo-bomber a few seconds before the torpedo hit the carrier, which later sank

VICE ADMIRAL SHOJI NISHIMURA (1889–1944)

Shoji Nishimura joined the Japanese navy in 1911, and became a navigation specialist, getting his first command, a destroyer, in 1926. In the 1930s, he was commander of the 26th Destroyer Group and entered the war as a rear admiral, commanding the 4th Destroyer Squadron. His squadron played an important role in the Battle of the Java Sea, which made him briefly famous in Japan. He then commanded the 7th Cruiser Division in the battle for Guadalcanal. He was appointed commander of the Southern Force for "Sho-Go", but his small force was annihilated and he was killed during the battle.



RIGHT A line of American landing craft moves towards the beach on Leyte on 20 October 1944 as the US Sixth Army, heavily protected by the US Third Fleet, begins the invasion of the Philippines



BELOW Troops from the US Sixth Rangers battalion march to their embarkation point at Finschafen on the eastern coast of New Guinea before arriving at Dinagat Island in Leyte Gulf, which they attacked and captured on 17 October

On the afternoon of 24 October, however, Halsey's aircraft had spotted the northern decoy force of carriers. Halsey ordered the bulk of his fleet, based around Task Force 38 (commanded by Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher) to steam north to engage. Kurita recovered his nerve and steered through the San Bernardino Strait with Center Force. There were only escort carrier groups available to protect the US landings, with some 500 aircraft. They engaged Kurita's force when contact was made in the early morning of 25 October, sinking two cruisers, while a third was severely damaged by a torpedo attack, but the superior firepower of the Japanese force sank two escort carriers and with the first use of "kamikaze" suicide planes, threatened to overwhelm the American covering force. But after three hours Kurita, uncertain perhaps of Kinkaid's true strength, withdrew.

By this time, frantic messages to Halsey had forced the Third Fleet to turn back towards Leyte. All four Japanese carriers had been sunk, but the miscalculation of Japanese intentions meant that the remnants of both Kurita's Center Force and the Northern Force were able to escape. Nevertheless, the separate actions proved a disaster for the Japanese navy, which lost 28 out of 64 warships committed and 10,500 sailors and pilots. The American naval forces lost six vessels out of the 218 sent to the Philippines. The superiority of American sea power, already proved in the island-hopping campaigns, now made the conquest of Japan's southern empire inevitable.





MONGOLIA

MANCHURIA

CHINA

KOREA

JAPAN

Japan surrenders,
September 2, 1945



Atomic bombs,
August 6–9, 1945



Firebombing of Tokyo,
March 9–10, 1945

Nanking

Shanghai

Tokyo



Battle for Okinawa,
March 23–June 30, 1945

OKINAWA



Battle for Iwo Jima,
February 19–
March 26, 1945

IWO JIMA

SAIPAN

MARIANA
ISLANDS

GUAM



The recapture of the Philippines,
October 20, 1944–August 14, 1945



Manila

PHILIPPINES

FRENCH
INDO-
CHINA

Saigon

BURMA

SIAM

Rangoon

Hong Kong

FORMOSA

MALAY STATES

Singapore

BORNEO

Batavia (Jakarta)

CELEBES

DUTCH EAST INDIES

TIMOR

PALAU
ISLANDS



Australian troops invade
Borneo, May 1, 1945



Hollandia

NEW GUINEA

Rabaul

GUADALCANAL

Port Moresby

Darwin

AUSTRALIA

INDIAN OCEAN

PACIFIC THEATRE 1945

KEY TO MAPS

- Japanese army
- Japanese military advances
- U.S. military forces
- U.S. military advances
- Australian military forces
- Air attacks
- Bombing missions
- Army land battles
- Airfields
- Limit of Japanese expansion

WAKE ISLAND

MARSHALL ISLANDS

GILBERT ISLANDS

SOLOMON ISLANDS

IWOJIMA



OKINAWA



19 FEBRUARY–
26 MARCH 1945

IWO JIMA

As American forces closed in on the Japanese home islands in 1944, a choice had to be made between invading Formosa (Taiwan) or other islands closer to Japan. The Formosa plan was finally abandoned in October in favour of attacks on the Bonin and Ryukyu Islands. On 3 October 1944, Admiral Nimitz was instructed to choose an island for attack which could be used by fighter aircraft to support the bombers flying from the Marianas. He chose Iwo Jima, a five-mile (eight-kilometre-) long volcanic island 660 miles (1,060 kilometres) south of Tokyo where Japanese aircraft were based for attacks on American air bases in the Marianas.

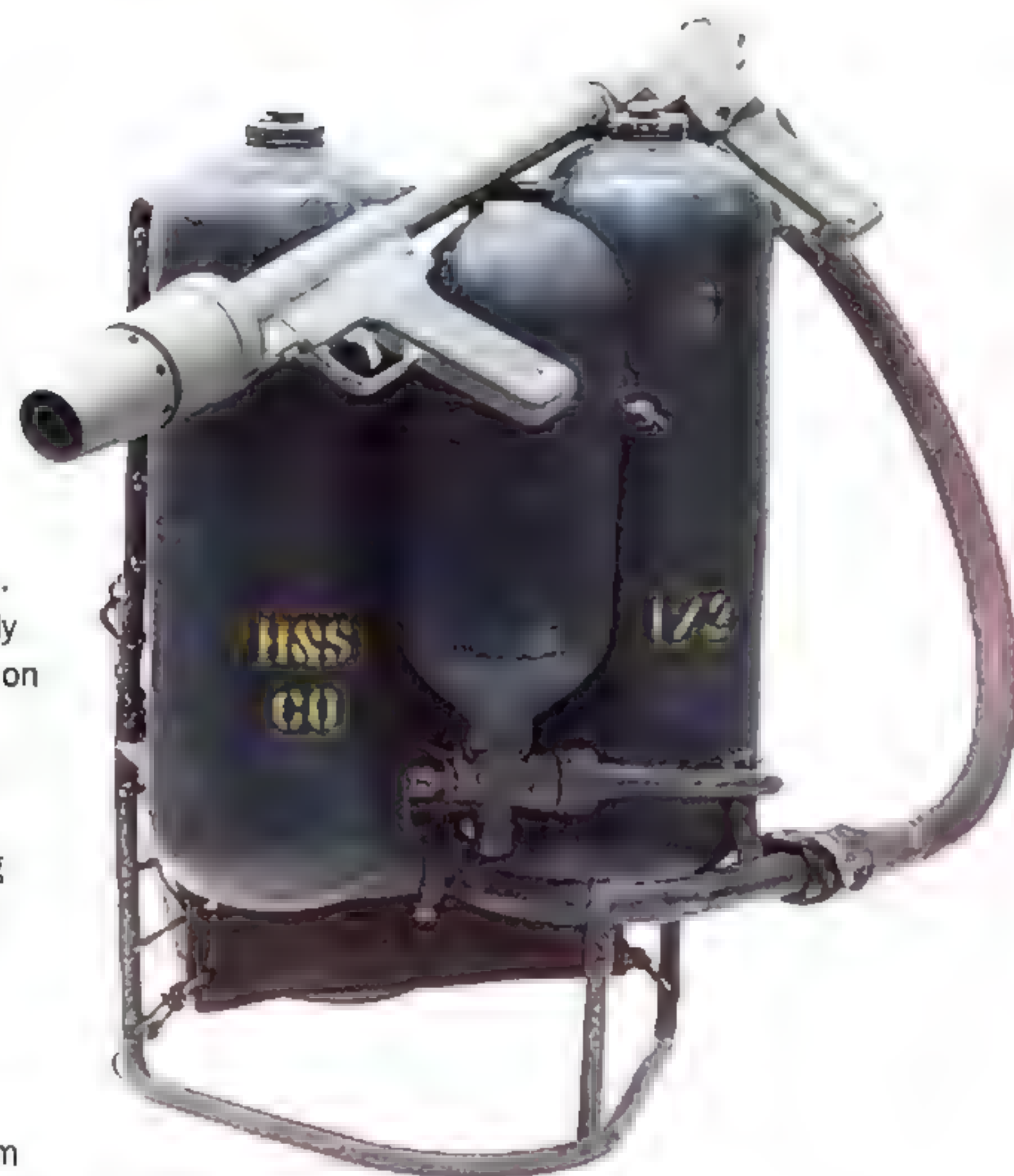
The Japanese High Command guessed that the United States would try to find bases closer to the home islands. The local garrisons were strengthened and complex networks of tunnels and bunkers constructed. On Iwo Jima, Lieutenant General Tadamichi Kuribayashi commanded 22,000 troops dug in to well-prepared positions. The Japanese plan here, as elsewhere, was to allow the Americans to land and then to wear down their will to continue the fight in a brutal war of attrition.

The 72 continuous days of aerial bombardment prior to the invasion of the island seem to have done little to dent the fighting power of the hidden defenders.

The invasion force comprised the Fourth and Fifth Marine Divisions of Major General

Harry Schmidt's Fifth Amphibious Corps, backed up by a reserve division, a total of 60,000 Marines. There were 800 warships eventually committed to the battle. The invasion had to be postponed because of the slow progress in capturing the Philippines, but on 19 February, supported by the first naval "rolling barrage" of the Pacific War, the Marines went ashore. The thick volcanic ash and steep shoreline made progress slow, and after 20 minutes the force was suddenly subjected to heavy flanking fire from hidden defences; some 519 Marines were killed on the first day. Nevertheless, the first Marines ashore succeeded in establishing a beachhead which soon housed almost 30,000 men. Most of

Kuribayashi's force remained concealed in the defensive lines built further inland in a series of deep bunkers and pillboxes carved into the soft volcanic rock. The first airstrip was captured on 20 February and Mount Suribachi fell four days later. By 27 February, the other completed airstrips had been captured, but it would take another month before the island was finally declared secure.



ABOVE The flamethrower was used extensively by US Marines in the Pacific theatre, who realised its tactical value in helping to clear Japanese tunnels and bunker complexes



RIGHT Badge of a Japanese superior private

BELOW Troops from the Fourth Marine Division land on "Blue" beach on Iwo Jima in the morning of 19 February 1945. They had to cross a high bank of soft black volcanic ash with full equipment. By the end of the day over 30,000 Marines were ashore and the beachhead secured



GENERAL HARRY SCHMIDT (1886–1968)

Harry Schmidt was Marine commander of the Fifth Amphibious Corps in the battle for Iwo Jima. He joined the Marine Corps in 1909 and had his first posting to Guam in the Pacific in 1911. After a long career on and off water he was head of the Paymaster Department of the Marine Corps when war broke out in 1941. In January 1942, he became assistant to the Marine Corps commander and in August 1943 commanding general of the Fourth Marine Division. His forces took part in the capture of Saipan and Tinian, by which time he was commander of the Fifth Amphibious Corps. His corps distinguished itself in the capture of Iwo Jima and went on to become part of the occupying force in Japan after the war was over. In February 1946, he took over the Marine Training Command and retired in 1948, when he was promoted to four-star general.





ABOVE Marines on Iwo Jima crouch behind a rock to avoid the blast from a heavy explosive charge laid in a cave connected to a three-tier Japanese block-house

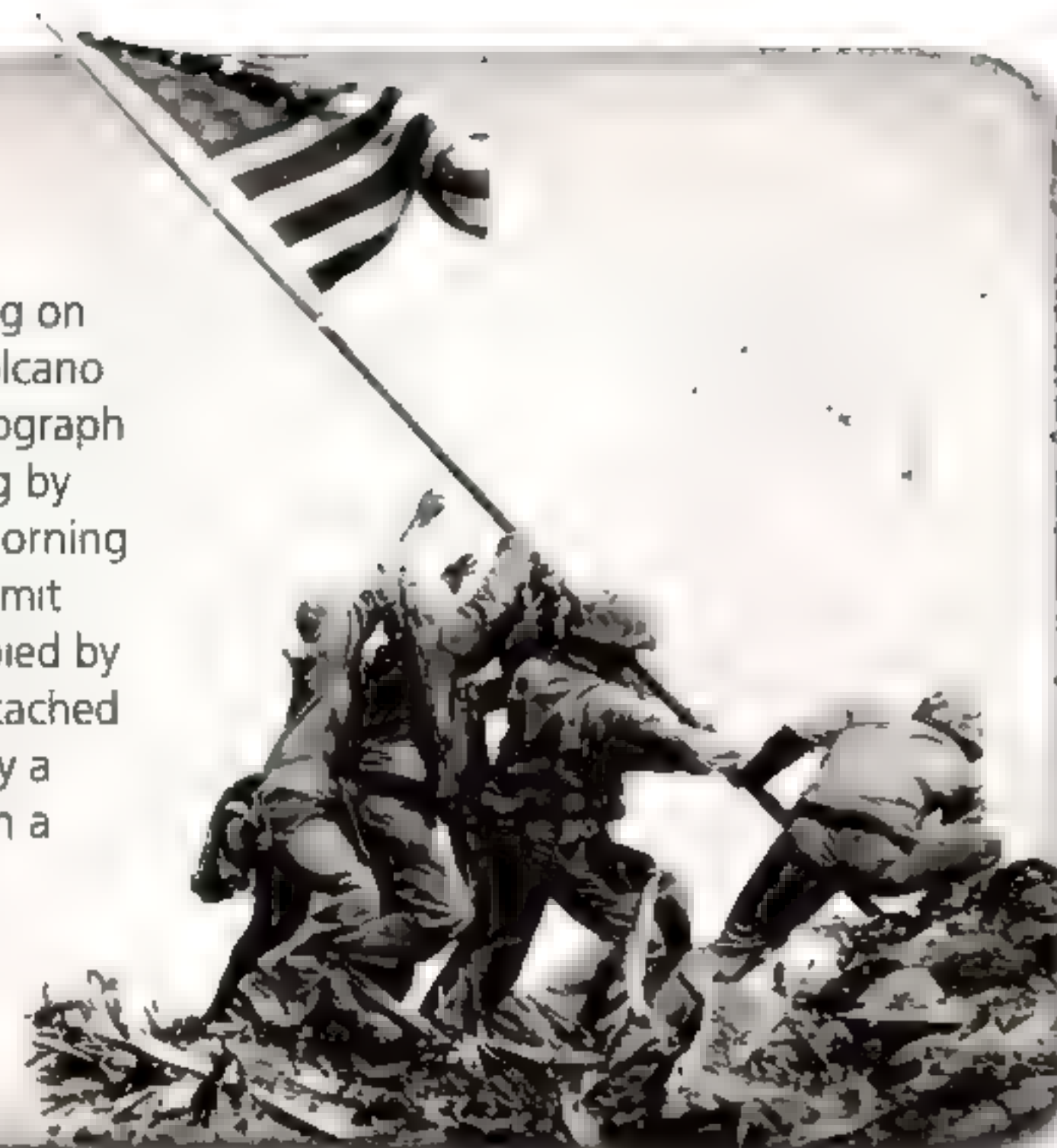
Japanese resistance so close to the home islands increased in intensity and the Marines took exceptionally heavy casualties. On Hill 382, nicknamed the "Meat Grinder", the Marines had to fight for every yard against defenders who fought until they were killed. Each defensive position in the gorges and caves of the rocky island had to be captured using flamethrowers and explosives to kill or flush out the defenders. Even when forced into the open, many Japanese soldiers hurled themselves at the attackers rather than surrender. The sheer weight of American firepower from sea, air, and land drove the Japanese defenders back to the north of the island where they made their last stand in "Bloody Gorge" at Kitano Point which took ten days to clear and ended with a final suicidal banzai charge. Even though the island was declared secure on 26 March, a further 2,409 Japanese soldiers were killed in the period up to June as defenders fought almost literally to the last man. The Japanese suffered a total of 23,300 killed, with nearly no prisoners taken. Marine losses totalled 5,931 dead and 17,372 wounded, over one-third of the original force committed.

Fighter aircraft began to operate from Iwo Jima even before it was secured and the first B-29 "Superfortress" bomber landed on the island on 4 March, the first of 2,251 that made emergency landings on the island on the way to or from the Japanese home islands. At a high cost in lives, the air route to Japan was finally secured and the last stages of the heavy bombing of Japan's cities could be undertaken.

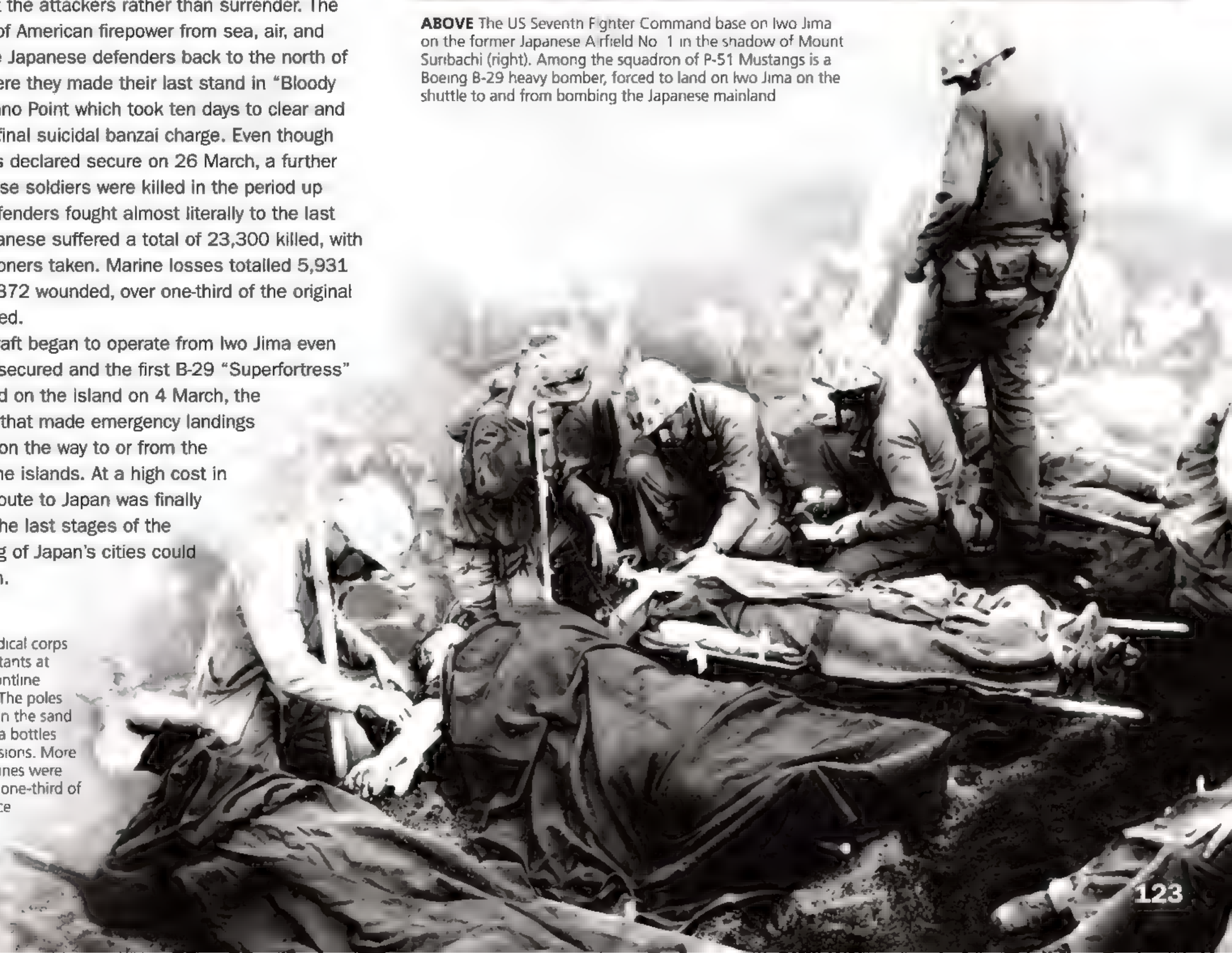
RIGHT Naval medical corps doctors and assistants at an emergency frontline dressing station. The poles have been stuck in the sand to support plasma bottles for blood transfusions. More than 17,000 marines were wounded, about one-third of the attacking force

MOUNT SURIBACHI

One of the most famous images of the Second World War is the raising of the flag on top of Mount Suribachi, a small extinct volcano at the southern tip of Iwo Jima. The photograph was a staged replay of the first flag-raising by Company E of the 28th Marines on the morning of 23 February 1945, who seized the summit even though the mountain was still occupied by Japanese units. The first small flag was attached to a piece of waste pipe, but later that day a second patrol unit arrived at the peak with a larger flag and a war photographer, Joe Rosenthal. He photographed the men raising the second flag and created an iconic image.



ABOVE The US Seventh Fighter Command base on Iwo Jima on the former Japanese Airfield No. 1 in the shadow of Mount Suribachi (right). Among the squadron of P-51 Mustangs is a Boeing B-29 heavy bomber, forced to land on Iwo Jima on the shuttle to and from bombing the Japanese mainland



DECLASSIFIED

IWO JIMA REPORT

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Journal

Organization _____

From 13 MAR 45 - DT 22

To _____

Place _____

DECLASSIFIED

SERIAL NO.	TIME DATED	INCIDENTS, MESSAGES, ORDERS, ETC.	ACTION TAKEN
18	R	234 D ^W - Lockheed reports in 234 D ^W just N. of unimproved road is what appears to be a blockhouse. This may have been previously reported by another Lockheed	R-3
19	R	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	R-3
20	R	FR LT 128 - Camouflage exposed by our fire shows G. H. at 234 D ^W Explosion to our front unexplained	R-3
21	R	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	R-3
22	R	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	R-3
23	R	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	R-3
24	R	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	R-3

Journal

Organization _____

From 13 MARCH 45 - DT 22

To _____

Place _____

DECLASSIFIED

SERIAL NO.	TIME DATED	INCIDENTS, MESSAGES, ORDERS, ETC.	ACTION TAKEN
25	TO RH	FR LT 328 - Rocket effective working in area. 234 D ^W expected to be able to move out. 234 Co still pinned down - unengaged	R-3
26	PH	FR LT LLOYD - KAMA and KANGOKU Rock - contact of mine on KANGOKU rock. 1000. 234 Co Ren on road after heavy preparation 234-127-327 in that order on our flanks	-
27	PH	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	R-3
28	PH	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	-
29	PH	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	-
30	PH	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	R-3
31	PH	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	R-3
32	PH	FR LT 328 - Duplet (328) reports that a friendly Napalm tank was burning and blew up in TA 234 D ^W or 234 K ^{SW}	7

PACIFIC HRC

IN REPLYING
REFER TO NO.

HEH/cad
(00143)

DECLASSIFIED

UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS
HQ, 2ND MARINE DIVISION, FMF,
IN THE FIELD.

16 February, 1944.

From: The Commanding General.
To: The Commanding General, Fifth Amphibious Corps.

Subject: Report of Gilbert Islands operation.

Reference: (a) MarCorps air-mailbrief serial #003D32943.

1. The following information is submitted in compliance with
reference (a):

(a) Units participating in the assault on Tarawa:

	MARINE		NAVY	
	Off	Enl	Off	Enl
SPECIAL TROOPS	89	1307	9	30
HqBn	(58)	(544)	(7)	(16)
SplWpsBn	(9)	(300)		(2)
TankBn	(22)	(463)	(2)	(12)
SERVICE TROOPS	40	1071	31	294
SerBn	(9)	(268)	(1)	(6)
MedBn		(93)	(29)	(277)
MT Bn	(5)	(87)		
AmphTrBn	(26)	(623)	(1)	(11)
2ND MARINES	143	3127	16	109
6TH MARINES	143	3127	18	111
8TH MARINES	138	3049	13	109
10TH MARINES	178	2695	11	53
18TH MARINES	66	1280	18	574
TOTAL	797	15895	116	1280

Temporarily Attached

SplWpsGroup-24DefBn	10	278		
AirLiaisonGroup-5thAC	13	82	5	40
ArgusAirWarningUnits			(2)	(20)
Two from Acorn-16			(3)	(20)
Two from Acorn-14			4	17
JG-2, Radar Unit			3	43
Casu-17			10	
SFCP-5thAC			12	100
TOTAL	23	360		
GRAND TOTAL	820	16255	138	1380

- 1 -



16 February 1944

CASUALTY REPORT

Report from the Commanding General of
the 2nd Marine Division to the Commanding
General of the Fifth Amphibious Corps detailing
personnel involved and casualties incurred
during the campaign for the Gilbert Islands.

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET (00143)

Subject: Report of Gilbert Islands operation.

(b) Units participating in the assault on Abemama:

	MARINE		NAVY	
	Off	Enl	Off	Enl
I & K Co's Rein				
3rdBn, 5thMar	13	377		8

(c) Company D(Scouts) 2dTankBn was employed on Tarawa Atoll,
Abaiang Atoll, Marakei Atoll, and Maiana Atoll:

	MARINE		NAVY	
	Off	Enl	Off	Enl
D(Scouts)2dTankBn	6	129		2

(d) Recapitulation of casualties:

	KIA & DOW				WIA				MIA			
	MARINE		NAVY		MARINE		NAVY		MARINE		NAVY	
	Off	Enl	Off	Enl	Off	Enl	Off	Enl	Off	Enl	Off	Enl
SPECIAL TROOPS	3	19			1	36						
HqBn	(1)	(3)				(9)						
TankBn	(2)	(16)			(1)	(27)						
SERVICE TROOPS	4	47	2		5	101						
MedBn		(1)	(1)			(3)						
AmphTrBn	(4)	(46)	(1)		(5)	(98)						
2ND MARINES	22	303	2		33	763						
6TH MARINES	7	91			10	237	1	24				
8TH MARINES	11	220			35	686						
10TH MARINES	1	9			4	23						
18TH MARINES	6	40	1			82						
2nd Def Bn	1	3										
4th MarDiv	1											
5th PhilbCorps												
TOTAL	56	736	2	24	88	1933	2	49	1	162		3

H. E. HIRE,
By direction.

- 2 -

SECRET

INSTRUMENT OF SURRENDER

We, acting by command of and in behalf of the Emperor of Japan, the Japanese Government and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters, hereby accept the provisions set forth in the declaration issued by the heads of the Governments of the United States, China and Great Britain on 26 July 1945, at Potsdam, and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which four powers are hereafter referred to as the Allied Powers.

We hereby proclaim the unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters and of all Japanese armed forces and all armed forces under Japanese control wherever situated.

We hereby command all Japanese forces wherever situated and the Japanese people to cease hostilities forthwith, to preserve and save from damage all ships, aircraft, and military and civil property and to comply with all requirements which may be imposed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or by agencies of the Japanese Government at his direction.

We hereby command the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters to issue at once orders to the Commanders of all Japanese forces and all forces under Japanese control wherever situated to surrender unconditionally themselves and all forces under their control.

We hereby command all civil, military and naval officials to obey and enforce all proclamations, orders and directives deemed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers to be proper to effectuate this surrender and issued by him or under his authority and we direct all such officials to remain at their posts and to continue to perform their non-combatant duties unless specifically relieved by him or under his authority.

We hereby undertake for the Emperor, the Japanese Government and their successors to carry out the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration in good faith, and to issue whatever orders and take whatever action may be required by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or by any other designated representative of the Allied Powers for the purpose of giving effect to that Declaration.

We hereby command the Japanese Imperial Government and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters at once to liberate all allied prisoners of war and civilian internees now under Japanese control and to provide for their protection, care, maintenance and immediate transportation to places as directed.

The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the state shall be subject to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers who will take such steps as he deems proper to effectuate these terms of surrender.

9 September, 1945

JAPANESE INSTRUMENT OF SURRENDER

The Japanese Instrument of Surrender signed on board the USS Missouri on 9 September 1945 by Japanese representatives and the representatives of the major Allied states fighting the Japanese, including General Douglas MacArthur and the American and British naval commanders, Chester Nimitz and Bruce Fraser.

Signed at TOKYO BAY, JAPAN at 0904 I
on the SECOND day of SEPTEMBER, 1945.

(Signature)

By Command and in behalf of the Emperor of Japan and the Japanese Government.

(Signature)

By Command and in behalf of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters.

Accepted at TOKYO BAY, JAPAN at 0908 I
on the SECOND day of SEPTEMBER, 1945,
for the United States, Republic of China, United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and in the interests of the other United Nations at war with Japan.

(Signature)
Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers

(Signature)
United States Representative

(Signature)
Republic of China Representative

(Signature)
United Kingdom Representative

(Signature)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Representative

(Signature)
Commonwealth of Australia Representative

(Signature)
Dominion of Canada Representative

(Signature)
Provisional Government of the French Republic Representative

(Signature)
Kingdom of the Netherlands Representative

(Signature)
Dominion of New Zealand Representative



9-10 MARCH 1945

THE FIREBOMBING OF TOKYO



ABOVE Japanese children being evacuated from Ueno station in Tokyo. Around 8 million Japanese moved from threatened urban areas to the overcrowded countryside, placing a severe strain on an already over-stretched rationing system



LEFT Badge of Twentieth US Army Airforce which included Twenty-first and Twentieth Bomber Command

BOTTOM A Boeing B-29 heavy bomber at a base in China as it prepares to take off for a bombing mission over Japan. Most B-29 attacks were later made from the Mariana Islands in the central Pacific but from June 1944 attacks were made from China until the main airfields were overrun by Japanese armies later in the year. The B-29 had a range of 4,000 miles (6,500 kilometres) and could carry 12,000 pounds (5,500 kilograms) of bombs

GENERAL HENRY "HAP" ARNOLD (1886–1950)

As chief-of-staff of the United States Army Air Force throughout the Second World War, Arnold played a central role in the American war effort. He became an army aviator in the First World War, and by 1918 was assistant commander-in-chief of the Air Service, though he arrived too late in Europe to see combat. In September 1938, he was chosen to head the Army Air Corps with the rank of major general, and when the corps was turned into the Army Air Forces in June 1941, Arnold became its chief. He sat on both the American Joint Chiefs-of-Staff Committee and the Anglo-American Combined Chiefs Committee. In March 1942, his official title became commanding general of the US Army Air Forces. He was an energetic, hardworking and sociable commander ("Hap" was short for "Happy"), with a clear understanding of technical development and high managerial skills. He suffered from poor health towards the end of the war, when he became the air force's first five-star general.



The bombing of Japan, like the bombing of Germany in Europe, began slowly and with mixed results. Because of the long distances involved, the bombers then in use in the European theatre were unable to reach mainland Japan from existing bases. Only when the first B-29 "Superfortress" bombers became available from the summer of 1944 – the first 130 arrived in India in May – was it possible to mount long-distance attacks against targets in the Japanese Empire in Manchuria, Korea or Thailand; the Japanese home islands were still difficult to reach for aircraft at the limit of their range. The capture of the Marianas was essential for the planned campaign of precision bombing against Japanese steel production and the aviation industry.

The first major B-29 raid was against the Thai capital of Bangkok on 5 June 1944. From then until early 1945, the Twentieth Air Force operated from bases in India and China against distant targets with very limited success. Operation "Matterhorn", as it was codenamed, achieved little and when the Japanese army overran the Chinese airfields the operation was wound up. Instead General Arnold, the USAAF chief-of-staff, decided to deploy the B-29s from the Marianas using Twenty-first Bomber Command under General Haywood Hansell, one of the planners of the air war in Europe. The first B-29 landed in October 1944 on Saipan, but a combination of slow delivery of aircraft, regular harassing attacks by Japanese aircraft, now using ramming techniques against

enemy bombers, and the exceptionally long flights to mainland Japan in generally poor weather once again led to very limited achievements. In the first three months of operations, only 1,146 tons of bombs were dropped on a range of precision targets. The first raid on Tokyo took place on 24 November 1944 but the effects were slight.



The disappointing nature of the bombing campaign led Arnold to sack Hansell and replace him with the more aggressive Major General Curtis LeMay, who arrived on Saipan in January 1945. After more weeks of unspectacular high-altitude precision attacks, LeMay was arguing with senior commanders for a radical change in tactics. He advocated using the newly available and highly effective M-69 firebomb in large quantities in low-level night-time attacks on Japan's urban areas. The subsequent fires would destroy local industry, demoralise the population and perhaps accelerate surrender. Uncertain whether Arnold would approve "area bombing", LeMay planned an experiment against Tokyo on the night of 9-10 March. A total of 334 B-29s were launched from three island bases carrying over 1,600 tons of incendiaries and 279 reached their destination.

The aircraft arrived over Tokyo in the early hours of 10 March, flying at between 4,000 and 9,200 feet (1,200 and 2,800 meters), where they met little resistance from the air defences. Pathfinders marked the area to be bombed with napalm, and the bombers released their loads indiscriminately within the designated zone.

BELOW US carrier-based aircraft on a bombing raid against Tokyo on 2 March 1945. Aircraft from Task Force 58 and Task Force 38 bombarded Japanese cities and defences from March to August 1945 against light Japanese resistance. Aircraft also engaged in the heavy mining of Japanese coastal waters, bringing trade almost to a halt.

GENERAL CURTIS E LEMAY (1906–1990)



Curtis LeMay masterminded the bombing of Japan and went on to play a central role in creating the US Strategic Air Command after the war. He joined the US Army Air Corps (later the Army Air Forces) in 1928 and had risen by October 1942 to the rank of colonel in charge of a bomber group of the Eighth Air Force based in England. A commander who flew with his men to experience combat, and a thoughtful tactician, LeMay was rapidly promoted. He was already a major general, the youngest in the army, when in August 1944 he took over command of Twentieth Bomber Command based in India for attacks from Chinese bases on Japanese targets in Manchuria and the home islands. He moved in January 1945 to take command of the Twenty-first Bomber Command on the Marianas and from here organized the bombing of Japan's cities. In July, he took command of Twentieth US Army Air Force (which included Twenty-first and Twentieth Bomber Command) and later the same month became chief-of-staff to the newly formed Strategic Air Forces in the Pacific. After the war he became commander of the Strategic Air Command from 1949 to 1957, and in 1961 chief-of-staff of the US Air Force.

BELOW An aerial view of central Tokyo following the firebombing of the city on the night of 9-10 March 1945. Only the concrete structures remain among the ruins of a highly flammable city where more than 100,000 lost their lives. The heat became so intense that people fleeing into the Sumida River (top) were boiled alive in the water.



The attack quickly provoked a firestorm which burned out 16 square miles (41 square kilometres) of the city and killed an estimated 100,000 people in a single night, the highest death toll of any single air attack. One million people were rendered homeless and a quarter of all residential buildings were destroyed. Over the next six months, LeMay's force destroyed 58 Japanese cities and inflicted an estimated 500,000 deaths. The new tactics of firebombing at low altitude proved grimly effective. An attack, for example, on the northern Honshu town of Aomori on the night of 28-29 July destroyed 88 per cent of the built-up area. By this time there were 3,700 B-29s available, more than the Marianas could accommodate. There remains much argument over whether the urban attacks were responsible for reducing Japanese war production, since the loss of the merchant marine and attacks on communications played an important part in this, but there is no doubt that the bomb attacks quickly demoralized the home population and accelerated the efforts of those Japanese leaders who could see the war was lost to try to find some acceptable formula for surrender.



23 MARCH-
30 JUNE 1945

OKINAWA

RIGHT An original Japanese open-faced flying helmet



While the final battles were waged for Iwo Jima, a huge task force was made ready to invade Okinawa, largest of the Ryukyu Islands, on the edge of the Japanese home islands. The battle was the largest of the Pacific War and the costliest for the American and Japanese forces involved. Okinawa was chosen as a potential base for heavy air attacks on Japan, but it could also be used as a staging post for the eventual invasion of the main islands.

The preparations matched the scale of the "Overlord" landings in France the previous year. Under the overall command of Rear Admiral Raymond Spruance, Operation "Iceberg" eventually involved more than half a million men and 1,213 naval vessels. Lieutenant General Simon Buckner's recently activated US Tenth Army, made up of two Marine and four regular army divisions, was given the significant task of clearing the island, but this time it was defended by approximately 100,000 Japanese troops, including 20,000 Okinawan militia, a much larger concentration than on Iwo Jima or Saipan. The invasion was supported by Vice Admiral Marc Mitscher's Task Force 58, which began a heavy naval bombardment of the island on 23 March.

The Japanese commander, General Mitsuru Ushijima, decided, against the instructions of the High Command, to adopt the same tactics used on Iwo Jima, despite their evident failure. Most of the long, thin island was difficult to defend except for the limestone outcrops at the south end. Ushijima concentrated most of his forces in the hilly region of the south with a defensive line across the island from its chief town, Naha. Other forces were based on the Motobu Peninsula further up the west coast. The Japanese hoped to benefit from the decision,

taken some months before, to use aircraft on kamikaze missions, employing the aircraft itself as a weapon to sink American shipping.

The campaign began with the seizure of the outlying Kerama and Keise islands between 23 and 29 March. The main attack followed on the morning of 1 April on the west coast of Okinawa. The invasion force faced little opposition and moved inland to seize the airfields. By

RIGHT US Marines laden with equipment clamber down ladders into waiting landing craft on 10 April 1945 during the early stages of the three-month campaign on Okinawa. Over 170,000 US servicemen saw action in the capture of the island

BELOW RIGHT A concealed Japanese artillery piece on the island of Okinawa, part of the extensive network of bunkers and shelters constructed in the mountainous southern tip of the island, where the Japanese 32nd Army concentrated its forces during the campaign

BELOW The carrier USS Bunker Hill on fire after being hit by two Japanese suicide planes off Okinawa on 11 May 1945. The Japanese aircraft crashed directly onto the carrier's aircraft which were preparing to take off for an attack on Okinawa



KAMIKAZE

In October 1944, the Japanese navy authorized the formation of a force of suicide pilots who would crash their aircraft deliberately into enemy ships in an effort to sink or disable them. The term chosen, kamikaze (divine wind), was a reference back to a medieval Chinese-Japanese war in which the Chinese fleet was dispersed by a fierce gale and Japan saved from invasion. The first official suicide attack was made on 25 October 1944 against the US escort carrier St Lo. Large numbers were used in the Battle of Leyte Gulf and the peak of suicide attacks came during the invasion of Okinawa in April 1945. The aircraft were fighters or trainer aircraft, loaded with bombs; the pilots were volunteers initially, then supplemented by conscripts. They flew a total of 2,314 sorties and hit 322 Allied ships, sinking 34. The effect of the campaign was to destroy much of what was left of the Japanese air force for a very limited tactical gain.





ABOVE A US flame-thrower tank in action on 21 June 1945 in southern Okinawa towards the end of the campaign to seize the island. Flame-throwers were used to flush out hidden Japanese snipers. A US infantryman crouches behind the tank to fire at Japanese soldiers escaping the flames

the following day, the island was split in two as US forces reached the east coast. The marine units moved northwards against weak resistance, reaching the north of the island by 15 April. Only on the Mobotu Peninsula was there heavy fighting, but the Marine Sixth Division secured it by 20 April.

The four army divisions faced a much more formidable obstacle when they reached the southern defensive line on 9 April. The terrain favoured the defenders and the American assault stalled. On 4 May in torrential rains that turned the ground to mud, the Japanese launched a powerful counter-attack which produced a prolonged hand-to-hand battle with high casualties on both sides.

From 6 April, the invasion fleet was also subject to repeated kamikaze attacks launched by the commander

of the Japanese 1st Mobile Fleet under the codename "Ten-Go". From then until 22 June, the fleet was subjected to 1,900 suicide attacks which caused high casualties among the crews, sank 38 naval vessels and damaged a further 368 of them. The Japanese navy also launched a suicide mission when the giant battleship Yamato, together with a single cruiser and eight destroyers, set out to attack the US fleet. The ship was sighted on 7 April in the East China Sea and sunk in an attack by 380 carrier aircraft, a dramatic end to what had been in 1941 one of the most powerful navies in the world.

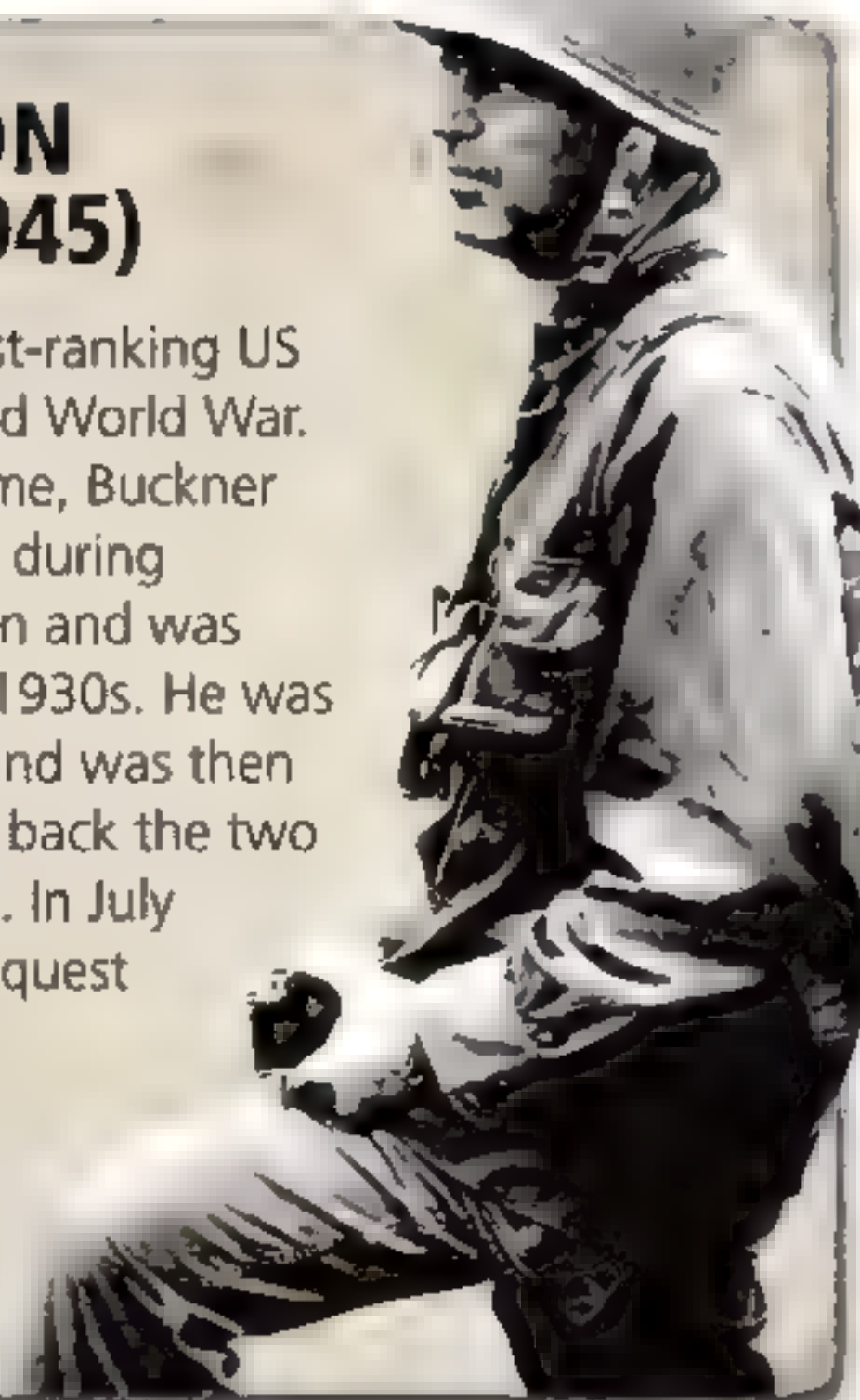
It wasn't until 21 May that the Japanese line finally began to break. Naha was captured on 27 May and Ushijima retreated with his remaining forces to the Oroku Peninsula where a final ferocious encounter brought an end to Japanese resistance on 22 June. Buckner was killed on 18 June; Ushijima killed himself four days later. These were just two of an extraordinarily high toll of casualties. Only 7,400, mainly Okinawan militia, survived from the 100,000-strong Japanese garrison, while total American deaths amounted to 12,520 with 36,631 wounded. The very high cost of securing a tiny island made the invasion of the home islands seem an increasingly hazardous and costly undertaking and played a part in the decision, taken a month later, to drop the atomic bomb.

BELOW LEFT An officer of the US Tenth Army shares his rations with two Okinawan children found hiding in an abandoned tomb on the island. Thousands of civilians perished in the fighting or committed suicide



LIEUTENANT GENERAL SIMON BOLIVAR BUCKNER (1886–1945)

Lieutenant General Simon Buckner was the highest-ranking US officer to be killed by enemy fire during the Second World War. The son of a Confederate general of the same name, Buckner joined the army in 1908, serving in the Philippines during the First World War. He was a tough trainer of men and was commandant of cadets at West Point in the early 1930s. He was sent to command the defence of Alaska in 1941 and was then promoted to brigadier general. In 1943, he seized back the two Aleutian Islands captured by the Japanese in 1942. In July 1944 he organized the US Tenth Army for the conquest of Taiwan, but their destination was subsequently changed to Okinawa and it was here, on 18 June 1945, towards the end of the campaign, that he was hit by shells from a Japanese battery and killed instantly.



LEFT Marines of the Second Battalion, 29th Marines, Sixth Division flush out Japanese resisters on the Oroku Peninsula at the far southwest of the island on 27 June 1945, shortly before the island was declared secured. The Japanese soldier standing is holding a white flag, an unusual act among Japanese troops, most of whom fought to the death on the island





6-9 AUGUST 1945

THE ATOMIC BOMBS

The final defeat of Japan was long expected to be a costly and lengthy campaign and the determination with which the Japanese forces defended Iwo Jima and Okinawa reinforced this conviction. A campaign plan for what was called Operation "Olympic" was drawn up, but unofficial estimates suggested that there would be between 500,000 and one million American casualties in an invasion of the home islands, and although military chiefs thought this figure to be exaggerated, they knew that Japan would be defended with more than usual ferocity. The sea blockade and the bombing of Japan's cities would, it was hoped, produce the defeat of Japan without a full invasion.

It is against this background that the decision to use the atomic bomb was made. Since 1942, under the codename of the "Manhattan Project", a large team of scientists in the United States had worked to produce a useable bomb. The physics necessary to understand how a bomb might be developed and what its possible effects would be was pioneered in the 1930s, and by 1939 the theoretical feasibility of such a bomb was established. The problem lay with production. In 1940, a high-level committee of scientists in Britain, known as the Maud Committee, was set up to report on the bomb. In July 1941 the committee concluded that a bomb could be made in the probable period of the war from enriched uranium and in October Churchill's government gave the go-ahead. The British did not recommend using plutonium, a new element derived from uranium, but this was developed later in the United States and used for one of the bombs.

ROBERT OPPENHEIMER (1904-1967)

Robert Oppenheimer was the physicist who led the research on the atomic bomb as scientific director at the laboratory at Los Alamos. The son of a textile merchant, Oppenheimer was marked out from an early age as a scholar and intellectual of extraordinary power and range. He studied theoretical physics in Germany in the 1920s before returning to America as professor of physics at Berkeley, California. It was his pioneering work on nuclear research in the United States together with his charismatic personality and driving energy that made him a natural choice to run the scientific side of the Manhattan Project. His flirtation with American Communism did not prevent his work at the time, but after the war, as chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission, he made powerful enemies who disliked his radicalism. In 1954, his security status was revoked when he was investigated by Senator McCarthy's UnAmerican Activities Committee. He moved to Princeton as director of the Institute of Advanced Study and died of throat cancer in 1967.



ABOVE Glass bottle distorted by the effects of the atomic explosion, Hiroshima, 6 August 1945

The economic effort of making the bomb proved beyond British capabilities, and in June 1942 the United States took over full responsibility for the whole project. British scientists moved to America and worked with a scientific team under Robert Oppenheimer. The whole project cost \$2 billion and employed 600,000 people, and by the summer of 1945 enough plutonium and bomb-grade uranium-235 had been produced to test and use atomic weapons. On 16 July 1945, at the Alamogordo air base in New Mexico, a plutonium bomb was detonated successfully. News of the explosion was sent to Roosevelt's successor President Truman, who was attending the inter-Allied conference at Potsdam. He approved the use of two bombs on Japanese cities. Whether this decision was taken principally to avoid an invasion of Japan, or to test the new technology, or rather to impress upon the Soviet Union has been argued over ever since.

Some Japanese cities had not been bombed by LeMay's Twenty-first Bomber Command so the atomic

LEFT The centre of the Japanese city of Hiroshima after the atomic bomb attack on 6 August 1945. The large building in the centre is the Industry Promotional Hall which was retained in its ruined state as a war memorial

BELOW RIGHT An aerial view of the atomic attack on Hiroshima, 6 August 1945





LEFT A photograph of suburban Nagasaki in September 1945 after the second atomic bomb was dropped on 9 August 1945. This scene was five miles (eight kilometres) from the epicentre of the explosion.



RIGHT A Dutch medical officer examines two Japanese POWs who were caught in the atomic attacks on Japan. They were among tens of thousands of victims of the after-effects of radiation and blast



ABOVE Commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Nagasaki by the B-29 bomber Bock's Car. Here shrine maidens attend the memorial ceremony on 9 August 2005 at the Atomic Bomb Hypocenter in Nagasaki

weapons could be tried out on them. The first bomb was used against Hiroshima on the morning of 6 August 1945. Nicknamed "Little Boy", the 8,800-pound (4,000-kilogram) uranium bomb was carried in a B-29 bomber from Tinian. It caught Hiroshima's workforce on its way to work. Five square miles (thirteen square kilometres) were utterly destroyed and an estimated 120,000, about 40 per cent of the city's population, died either immediately or within a few days from the effects of radiation. The second bomb, carried from Tinian on the morning of 9 August was destined for the city of Kokura but it was obscured by cloud and the crew dropped

the 10,100-pound (4,600-kilogram) plutonium bomb – dubbed "Fat Man" – on the secondary target, Nagasaki. The city was sheltered by hills and the blast effects less damaging, but an estimated 74,000 people were killed and 74,000 injured from a population of 270,000. Tens of thousands suffered the long-term after-effects of exposure to high levels of radiation.

The effect in Japan was one of disbelief at first, turning rapidly to terror at the prospect of further attacks. In reality, the United States was not yet in a position to drop a further atomic bomb, but the same day as the Nagasaki attack the Japanese prime minister asked Emperor Hirohito to decide on the issue of surrender. The effect on the Soviet Union of the atomic attacks was less startling than the Americans had hoped, since spies had already supplied extensive information on the Manhattan Project. Stalin ordered a high-speed programme of nuclear development and the Soviet Union detonated its first atomic test bomb in August 1949, by which time the United States had a further 298 bombs.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL LESLIE GROVES (1896–1970)

Leslie Groves is best remembered for two things. He was a senior military engineer who supervised the building of the Pentagon in Washington, and also military head of the Manhattan Project for constructing the atomic bomb. He joined the army in 1918 after education at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and became an officer in the US Corps of Engineers. In 1940, promoted to lieutenant colonel, he joined the General Staff as chief of operations, Corps of Engineers, and deputy to the chief of construction. He was an energetic and ruthless administrator who played a major part in organising the huge construction projects made necessary by the expansion of the US military between 1940 and 1942. In September 1942, he was appointed as military director of the bomb project which he codenamed "Manhattan". He was one of the leading advocates of bombing the ancient Japanese capital of Kyoto, but was overruled. He retired in 1948 with the rank of lieutenant general, unhappy about the transfer of the nuclear programme to the civilian Atomic Energy Commission.





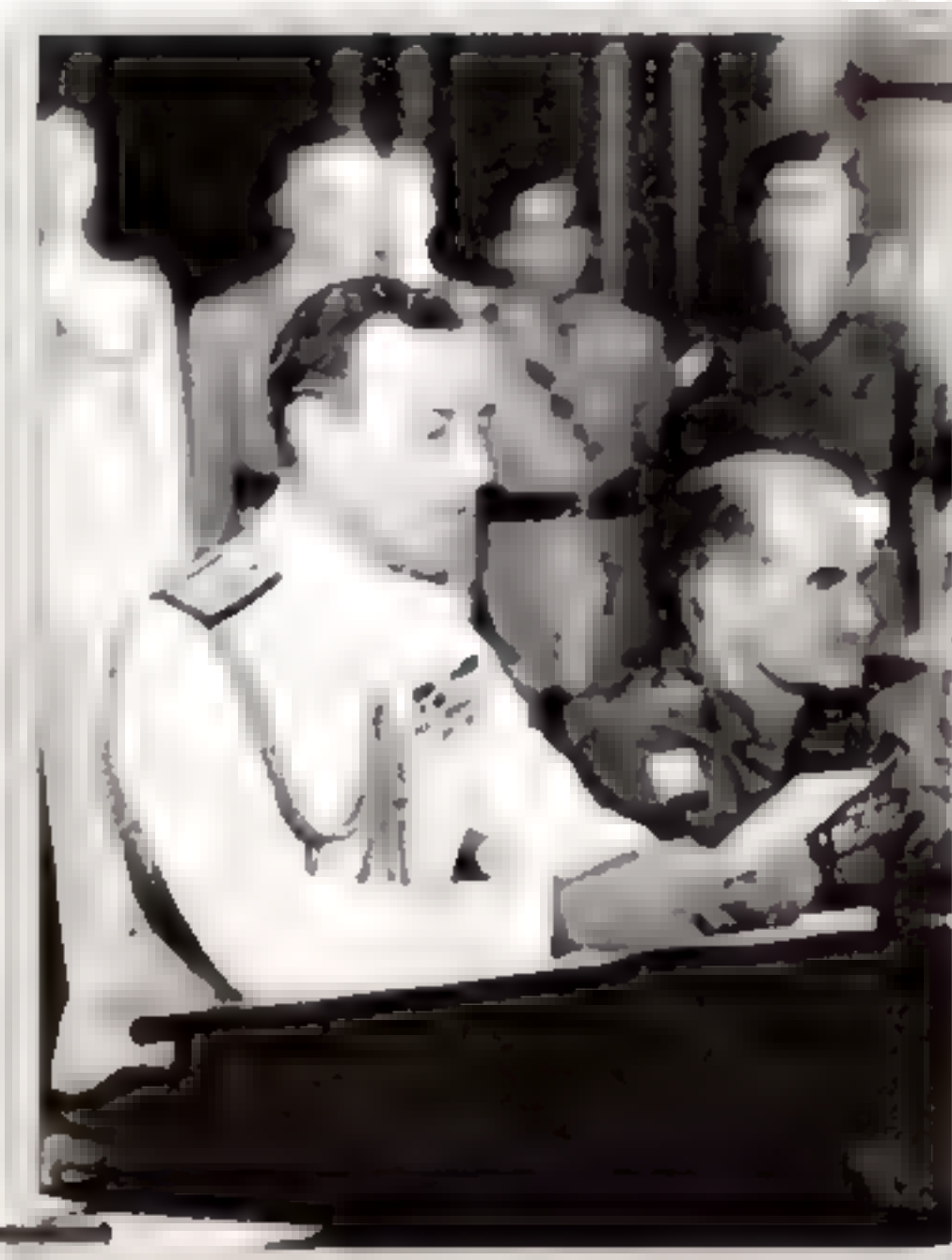
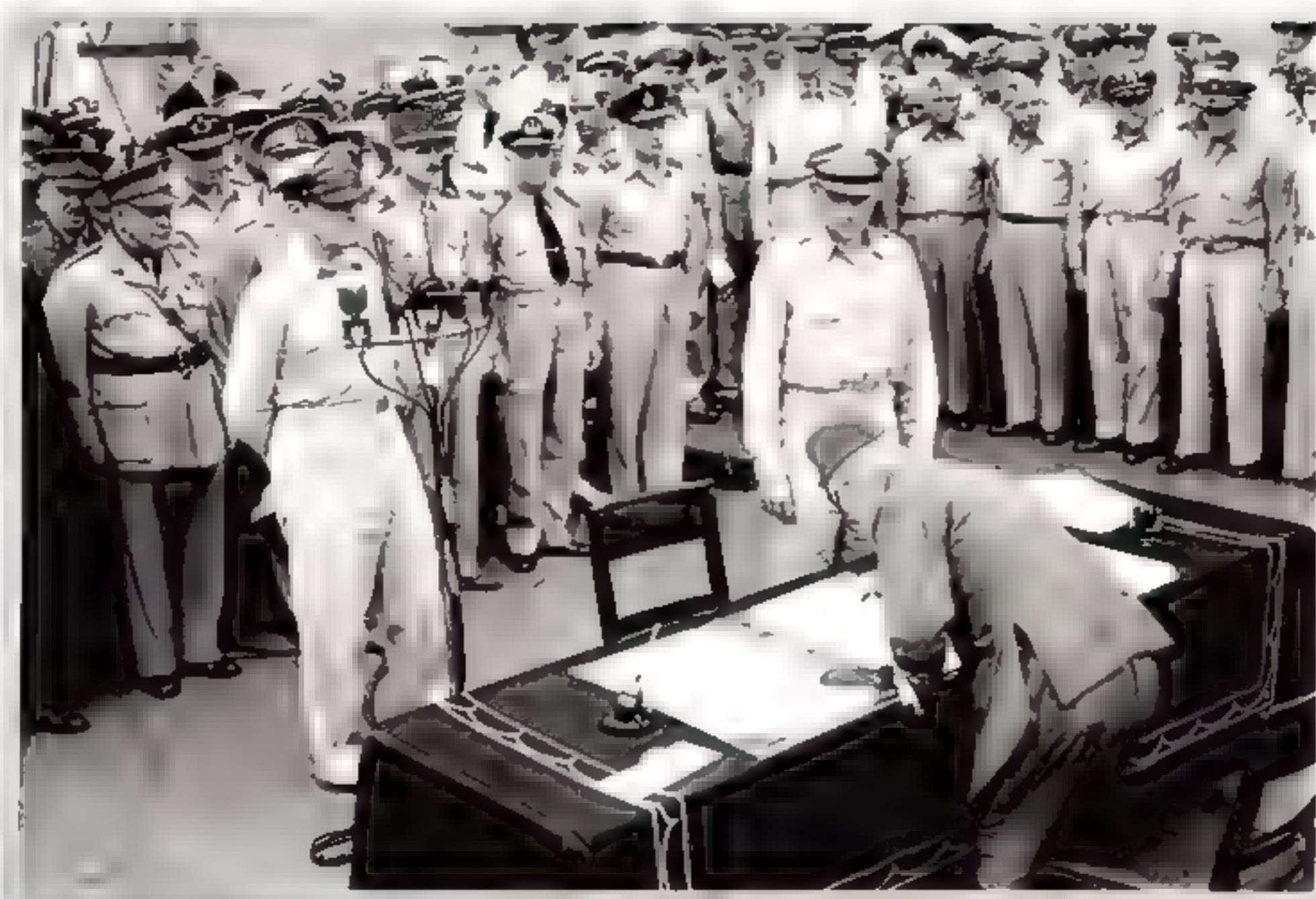
14 AUGUST-
2 SEPTEMBER 1945

THE JAPANESE SURRENDER

The Allied demand for the unconditional surrender of Japan presented a more difficult process than was the case in Europe. Surrender was deeply dishonourable for the Japanese military, which was why so many Japanese soldiers and sailors fought literally until the last, or committed suicide. The military domination of decision-making in Japan and the prevailing ethos of sacrifice for the sake of the Emperor impeded any attempt by civilian leaders during 1945, faced with the inevitability of defeat, to find a formula that would satisfy both the Allies and the Japanese military.

The Japanese leadership also shared many illusions about the invincibility of Japan and the defensibility of the Empire. Only with the heavy destruction of Japanese cities in 1945 and the bombardment of the homeland by Allied ships and carrier aircraft was it evident to the wider population that the propaganda of victory had been a cruel deception. Yet in the face of defeat the military decided that the Japanese homeland would be defended at all costs under the slogan "The Glorious Death of One Hundred Million". In January 1945, a Homeland Operations Plan was formulated and in March a law passed to enforce the creation of People's Volunteer Units, followed in June by the creation of People's Volunteer Combat Corps. These people's militia were poorly armed and supplied, but the assumption among Japan's military was that death must always be preferable to dishonour.

In April 1945, a new prime minister, Admiral Kantoro Suzuki, was installed. While some efforts were made to see if there was an acceptable formula for an



EMPEROR HIROHITO (1901–1989)

Hirohito came to the throne of Japan in 1926, taking the name "Showa" (enlightened peace) as the designation of his reign. He was a reserved and scholarly man, with a lifelong interest in marine biology. His reign was at first characterised by a strong pro-Western stance and Hirohito endorsed the parliamentary system which in practice restricted his own extensive prerogatives as Japan's supreme sovereign. The political system allowed Hirohito very limited room for initiative and when the military came to dominate politics in the 1930s, Hirohito was usually asked to endorse policies already approved by the army and navy. He was personally opposed to the war with China and the declaration of war on the United States, but was presented in both cases with a fait accompli which he could not easily reverse. He was nevertheless unwilling for Japan to abandon its empire or to accept dishonour and as a result was a reluctant partner in the military imperialism of his cabinets. In 1945, he played a key part in finally forcing the military to accept surrender. He remained on the throne from 1945 until his death in 1989, helping to adapt Japan to modern democracy



TOP LEFT The Japanese General Yoshijiro Umezu signs the instrument of unconditional surrender on behalf of the Japanese army aboard the battleship USS Missouri on 2 September 1945

TOP RIGHT Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, supreme commander Southeast Asia Command, reads out the terms of unconditional surrender to Japanese military leaders at a ceremony in Singapore on 12 September 1945

RIGHT Troops of the 25th Indian Division searching Japanese POWs in the Malayan capital Kuala Lumpur after they had been disarmed in September 1945



end to hostilities, Suzuki continued to work with military plans for a final defence. On 26 July, the Allies announced the Potsdam Declaration which re-affirmed the demand for unconditional surrender and committed the Allies to the democratic reconstruction of Japan. The stumbling block remained the question of the Emperor: unless the Allies would guarantee the survival of the monarchy, the government would not be able to endorse surrender. Hirohito had already let it be known through the Japanese ambassador in Moscow (Japan and the Soviet Union were not yet at war) that Japan wished to end the war, but his own position made it difficult to deliver what the Allies wanted.

The changed circumstances of early August forced the hand of the Japanese government. On 6 August, the first atomic bomb was dropped and on 8-9 August, before the bomb on Nagasaki, Soviet forces opened up a major offensive against the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria. The Soviet army expected a hard fight in difficult terrain, but so weakened was Japanese capability that the million men, 5,000 tanks and 5,000 aircraft of the Far Eastern army groups overwhelmed Japanese opposition within six days, with the deaths of 80,000 Japanese. On August 9, Suzuki finally asked the Emperor to decide on surrender or a final fight to the death and the Emperor, who had already had secret intimations from the Americans that the throne would be protected, opted for surrender. He had to repeat his decision at an imperial conference on 14 August, and the following day, despite continued opposition from the military, he made an unprecedented broadcast to his people that Japan would surrender.



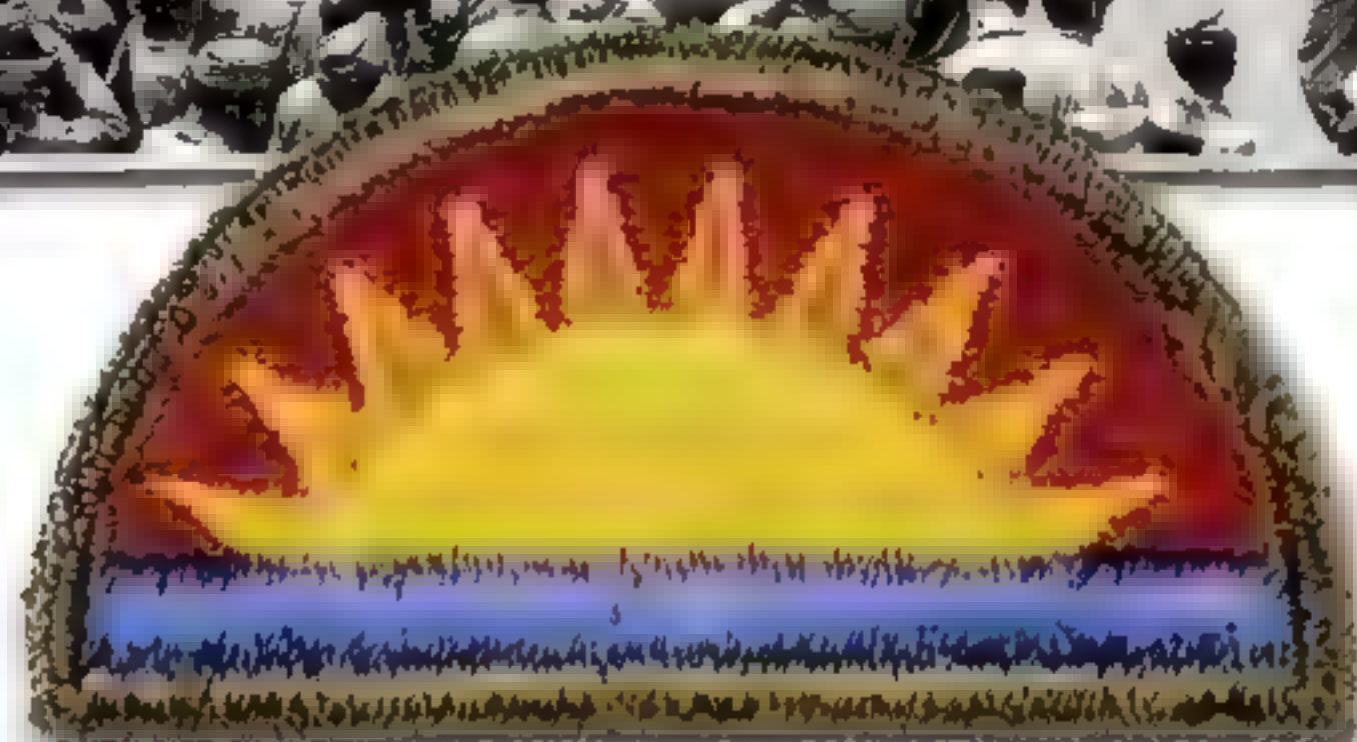
ABOVE A Japanese doctor attempts to staunch the blood from a self-inflicted wound sustained in a suicide attempt by the former prime minister General Hideki Tojo in Yokohama, September 1945. Tojo, who survived, was later tried and hanged as a war criminal in 1948



ABOVE Jubilant Manchurians greet the Soviet army as it enters Port Arthur on 22 August 1945 after a lightning victory over the occupying Japanese Kwantung Army. The Manchurian territory was ceded to China in 1946 and became part of the new Communist People's Republic in 1949

The final process proved as messy as it had been in Europe. Some Japanese soldiers continued to fight on weeks after the decision to surrender. Many could not be reached in distant outposts and garrisons and the Allied troops had great difficulty in persuading them that the surrender was actually true. In Manchuria, formal surrender came only on 21 August and fighting continued in some areas until as late as September. On 2 September, aboard the battleship USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay, Japanese representatives met with General MacArthur to sign the formal instruments of surrender. Japanese forces surrendered in China on 9 September, in Burma on 13 September and in Hong Kong on 16 September. Japan was occupied by American and British Commonwealth forces; the Emperor was not deposed and played an important part in the democratic reconstruction of his country.

BELOW The US First Cavalry Division parading down a main street in Tokyo on 4 July 1946 during Independence Day celebrations. The commanders of the First Cavalry Division and the US Eighth Army took the march-past in front of the Imperial Hotel



LEFT Badge of the US 41st Division. This division was one of those to occupy the Japanese mainland following the end of the war in 1945

MARSHAL KIRIL MERETSKOV (1897-1968)

Kiril Meretskov was not one of the stars of the Soviet military leadership, but he played a major part in the swift destruction of the Japanese army in Manchuria in 1945. He was also one of the few marshals not to have had military experience in the First World War. He joined the Bolshevik Party in May 1917, and was appointed chief-of-staff of a Red Guard unit despite his lack of any military experience. It was as a staff officer that he made his subsequent career, and he served briefly in the 1st Cavalry Army, of which Stalin was military commissar. His first major command was the war against Finland, where his troops failed again and again to break the Mannerheim Line. He nevertheless survived several bouts of Stalin's displeasure and for the whole of the European war commanded forces on the far-northern front against Finland and in defence of Leningrad. After forcing the Finns to sue for an armistice in September 1944, he was promoted to marshal. The following year he moved to the Far East for the brief war against Japan.





ICONIC MOMENT

Members of the 1st Division staff take advantage of a moment of respite to pose for group photograph on Guadalcanal in August 1942.





WHAT IF JAPAN HAD NOT STRUCK PEARL HARBOR?

The historical consequences would have been hugely significant had Japan chosen an alternate course of action



PROFESSOR ROBERT CRIBB

Professor Cribb is a lecturer at ANU College of Asia and the Pacific in Canberra. His research interests have covered the changing face of Asia in the wake of World War II, in particular Indonesia and its war of independence with the Dutch after the fall of Japanese rule. The academic's current research projects include the origins of massacre in Indonesia, 'Puppet states revisited: Empire and Sovereign Subordination in Modern Asia' (with Li Narangoa), and 'The Trial and Release of Japanese War Criminals, 1945-58' (with Sandra Wilson, Beatrice Trefalt and Dean Aszkielowicz).

What would have happened if Japan had not struck Pearl Harbor?

History would have turned out very differently. For a start, it would mean Japan was not going to expand its empire into Southeast Asia – because that is what provoked Pearl Harbor. Instead, they would have been concentrating their war efforts solely in China, which was a conflict that began in 1937. Now, China proved to be more than Japan could chew in diplomatic and military terms. Plus, the USA had its own interests in China and that was what, ultimately, set them to war with Japan. The USA had imposed a trade and financial embargo against Japan. As a result, Japanese financial assets in the USA had been frozen and they did not have the means to buy anything from abroad. So to avoid Pearl Harbor, Japan would need to do something to accede to American demands – including pulling out from China. My guess is that the Chinese nationalist government, under Chiang Kai-shek, would have come to terms with Hideki Tojo's government

in Tokyo to beat the communists. History would still need to be quite different – for instance, the Japanese would have had to maintain more control over the troops in Nanjing, and not let them massacre an entire city of people, but if things had been less brutal, we can imagine a possible peace treaty between the two countries. Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist government deeply feared Mao and so did the Japanese. So you would not have had Mao – and China would be totally changed. I think Japan would also have demanded access to Chinese markets. It would be a much more influential and powerful country after the end of the war. And, of course, you would not have had the atomic bomb.

Do you think the USA would have eventually dropped an atomic bomb somewhere anyway? At the time, Eisenhower was eager to test it out. Churchill, let us not forget, was considering battling Stalin immediately after the Nazis surrendered. Perhaps Eisenhower would



have used it against Stalin after the formation of the Soviet bloc in the wake of the fall of Berlin?

I don't know if I can make a reliable judgement on that but you are correct – the Americans were thirsting to try the bomb out in a real situation and the idea that they could do it as a pre-emptive strike against the Soviet Union is certainly plausible. Japan would not be the Japan that has the resentment it has now – as the sole country to have been subjected to atomic war, but I suspect it would probably have realised that its economy could win them peace and influence rather than the use of empire and force. I do believe democracy would have won in the end.

At the time, Japan had also conquered Taiwan and Korea. Of course, Chiang Kai-shek fled from China to establish a modern Taiwan that exists, to this day, in a state of uncertainty as a broadly unrecognised 'nation' while Korea was thrust into war. If Pearl Harbor had not

happened, how would this have changed?

Taiwan and Korea would eventually have become independent but under tight Japanese control. As with all empires, the Japanese one would crumble, but I suspect Taiwan and Korea would have become de facto puppet states – possibly even today. Of course, there would have been no Korean War and no split between the North and the South. And modern Taiwan would not be recognised as a rogue Chinese province by Beijing.

Hypothetically, could Japan have found a way to expand its empire into Southeast Asia without first attacking Pearl Harbor?

Japan would have been very vulnerable in the rest of Southeast Asia if it had not conquered the Philippines – and that country was an American protectorate at the time so they had to hit the USA. Burma was also attractive because it allowed Japan to cut off supplies to the Chinese from the UK. But if you take on Burma you

ABOVE If Japan had not struck Pearl Harbor, the USA may have dropped an atomic bomb on Moscow instead



“FOR JAPAN, PEARL HARBOR WAS REALLY THE SIDESHOW – THEY WERE TRYING TO GET RID OF THE US FLEET OF SHIPS”

are taking on the British and that means you needed to take on Malaysia and Singapore as well. Japan's strategy had to be all or nothing – they had to take all of Southeast Asia, except Thailand, who were a close ally because there was nothing strategically useful about them. However, French Indochina and Dutch Indonesia were definitely going to be invaded. For Japan, Pearl Harbor was really the sideshow – they were trying to get rid of the US fleet of ships and attempting to stop supplies to the British. It was not about taking Hawaii. Their interest was in expanding to Southeast Asia and removing the Western powers.

Let's try another hypothetical situation – Japan decides not to attack the Philippines but withdraws from China. Might the USA have come to terms with loosening their trade embargo? And might Japan have retained its empire in Southeast Asia?

I think this is very unlikely. The Philippines is in the middle of the South China Sea and it was able to block Japanese supply routes so it really had to fall. But let's imagine a situation where Japan is just battling against the European colonial powers – it wants them out of there and Tokyo wants to run things. The British were not strong at the time and they did not fight a strong war in Burma. In the end they were only able to battle the Japanese because of help from the Americans. The French, certainly, would not have been able to fight back until 1945, so Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos would have remained Japanese. In Indonesia, the Japanese invasion was transformative because it broke down Dutch power. It also increased Indonesian confidence and the movement



HOW WOULD IT BE DIFFERENT?

● Japan creates the puppet state of Manchukuo

After the 1931 invasion of Manchuria, and believing that all of Asia should be unified under the rule of Emperor Hirohito, Japan creates a new state, Manchukuo, located in inner (Chinese) Mongolia. **15 September 1932**

REAL TIMELINE

1895

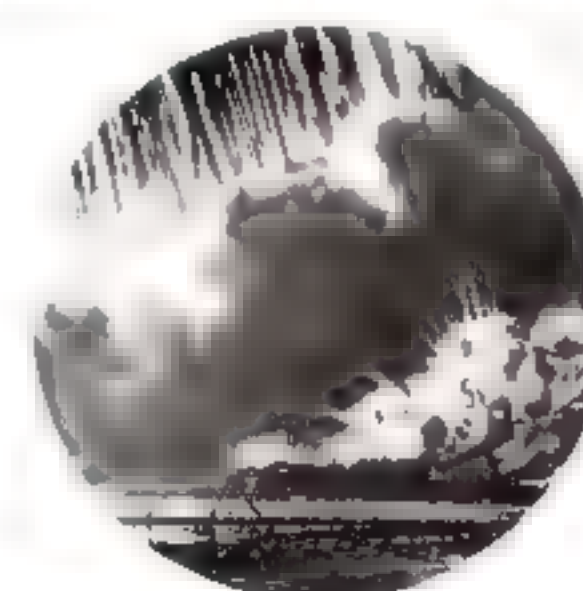
● Japan Invades Taiwan

Believe it or not but the road to Pearl Harbor begins here. The East Asian island is invaded by the Japanese, whose empire begins. **29 May – 21 October 1895**



● The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War

Although tensions between the two countries had been high after the invasion of Manchuria and creation of Manchukuo, it is the increasing number of Japanese soldiers deployed to the mainland that finally breaks Chinese patience. When a Japanese private fails to return to his post, his squad demand to enter the walled town of Wanping. When the Chinese refuse, the Japanese respond with force. What may have been a simple disagreement was the spark that lit a brutal eight-year war. **7 July 1937**



● Pearl Harbor is struck

A surprise attack on the naval base in Hawaii, an attempt to cripple the US Navy and halt supplies, gives the White House full public support to enter World War II – in Asia and Europe. **7 December 1941**

REAL TIMELINE

ALTERNATIVE TIMELINE

● The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War

Japan's most challenging battlefield since its annexation of Taiwan and Korea many decades prior begins. However, the army – despite its reputation for brutality – attempts to win over hearts and minds. Nanjing is treated especially carefully. **7 July 1937**

for independence, which would have happened but they would have been fighting the Japanese. In the end, if this had transpired – and we take out the Philippines and Pearl Harbor – you have another very different history. The Vietnam War, for instance, does not take place. The Viet Minh would have fought the Japanese and, I suspect, have won. The Japanese were not good with insurgencies. They tended to react brutally, which alienated the populations they were trying to rule – again, look at China. So I think Japan would have handed over independence in these areas, but they would have given the power to people they saw as safe. In turn the local revolutionary movements probably would have overthrown them anyway, such as Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, and the Western colonial powers would not have returned. Malaysia, I suspect, would have fallen to the communists without the British back in power.

Would the USA have become involved in the war without Pearl Harbor?

Yes, I think they would have. Roosevelt saw the Nazis as evil and he did want to get involved – but it was winning over the American public that was his problem. I think he would eventually have found a way to justify fighting in Europe. I think it is possible that the USA would not have become involved in Asia, which means – as we just touched upon – you would not have the 20th century as it currently existed, right down to Pol Pot in Cambodia.

Stalin had a non-aggression pact with the Japanese. But on 9 August 1945, he also declared war on the territory. Was this too little too late? How could the Russians have influenced the outcome of all this?

It is interesting because, until Pearl Harbor, the Japanese army felt their next war was going to be with the Soviet Union. They fought them on the borders of Manchukuo and they were chastened by that experience. The outbreak of war with China was in many ways not what the Japanese expected. I think they were anticipating that Stalin would break that pact at some point.



Finally, can you think of any way that the USA and Japan might not have gone to war with each other?

I think we can imagine a possible circumstance where Japan concentrates its troops in China, and sets up puppet administrations that actually function. The USA, at the time, wanted free trade in Asia, and Japan was looking to create closed areas of financial interest. So let's imagine that Japan did just enough in China for the USA that the White House relaxed its trade ban. In theory, that could have stopped Pearl Harbor. But the main thing that would have stopped the attack on Pearl Harbor is Germany. At the time of the attack, Germany looked as if it was winning in Europe. Japan felt it was going to be on the winning side of the war and it was part of this all-conquering fascist Axis. Six months later, though, Germany was in retreat. If that had happened I don't think Japan would have launched an attack on Pearl Harbor.

OPPOSITE Troops of the Chinese 179th Brigade departing Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, China for the front lines in 1937

OPPOSITE BELOW Japanese soldiers crossing the border from China into the British colony of Hong Kong in 1941

ABOVE The USS Arizona burning after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor

● Invasion of the Philippines

With their sights on the oil-rich Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), the Japanese attack and conquer the American protectorate of the Philippines. Manila becomes one of the biggest victims of the whole of World War II. **8 December 1941**

● Fall of Hong Kong

The British colony of Hong Kong surrenders to Japan. Churchill considers it a disaster as this marks the very first British territory to surrender to fascism. Burma (now Myanmar), British Borneo, Malaysia and Singapore would soon follow. **25 December 1941**

● Dropping of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Eager to test out the power of nuclear warfare, President Eisenhower makes the controversial decision to engulf two of Japan's major cities in a mushroom cloud of death and radiation. The cost to civilian lives remains controversial. **6 August and 9 August 1945**

● Tokyo surrenders and retreats from its colonies

The war in Asia comes to a conclusion. Japan retreats from all of its territories, but fighting between the Western powers and their 'liberated' populations continues for years, and in some cases decades. **2 September 1945**



● Talks with Chiang Kai-shek

Hideki Tojo's government speaks to Chiang Kai-shek about joining forces against the communist army of Mao. Once the communists fall, Japan agrees to leave China. **28 December 1941**



● Eisenhower drops a nuclear

With Stalin's forces brutally occupying Taiwan and Korea, the president's flirtation with nuclear weaponry becomes a reality. Moscow surrenders all territories. **6 August 1945**

● 'Comrade Godzilla'

Inspired by the bombing of Moscow, the creation of 'Comrade Godzilla' – a mutated red lizard that trashes the Russian capital – thrills viewers all across the world. **9 June 1955**

● The USA threatens to freeze Japanese assets

The USA requests that Japan withdraw from China or else all assets will be frozen. Japan begins talks with the White House about a resolution regarding China. **26 July 1941**

● Japan removes itself from Hitler's sphere of influence

With rumours that Stalin is prepared to tear up his non-aggression pact with Tokyo, Japan proclaims it is no longer aligned with fascism. **20 August 1941**

● Defeat of the Chinese communists

One of the bloodiest struggles of the war comes to a close. Japan wins cautious plaudits for assisting Chiang Kai-shek in his vision for a unified, Western-friendly China. **1 March 1944**

● Stalin becomes involved in the war in Asia

Aghast at Japan's aggression towards the Chinese communists, Stalin orders the Red Army to strike Taiwan and Korea, hoping to gain a foothold in the continent. **31 May 1945**



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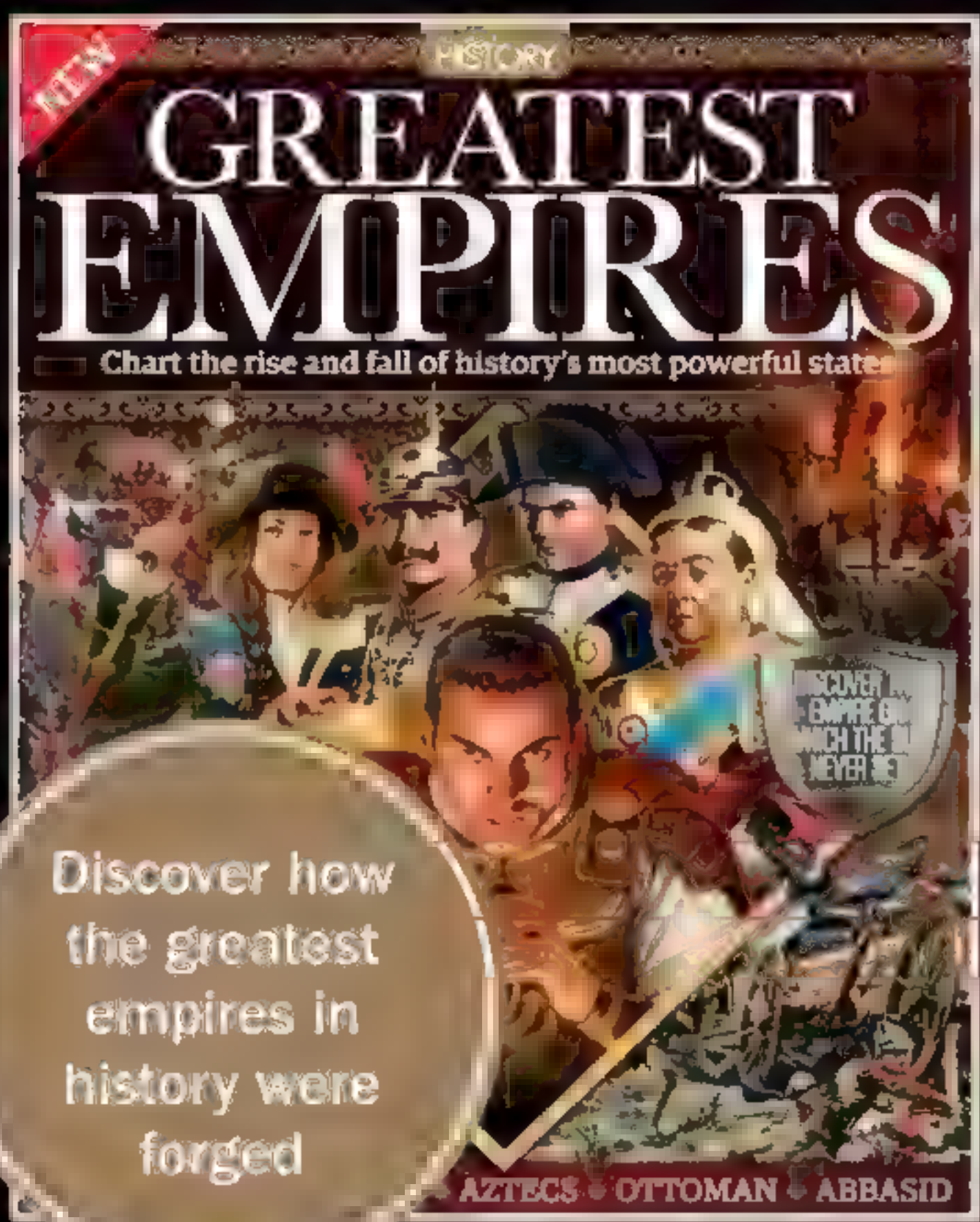
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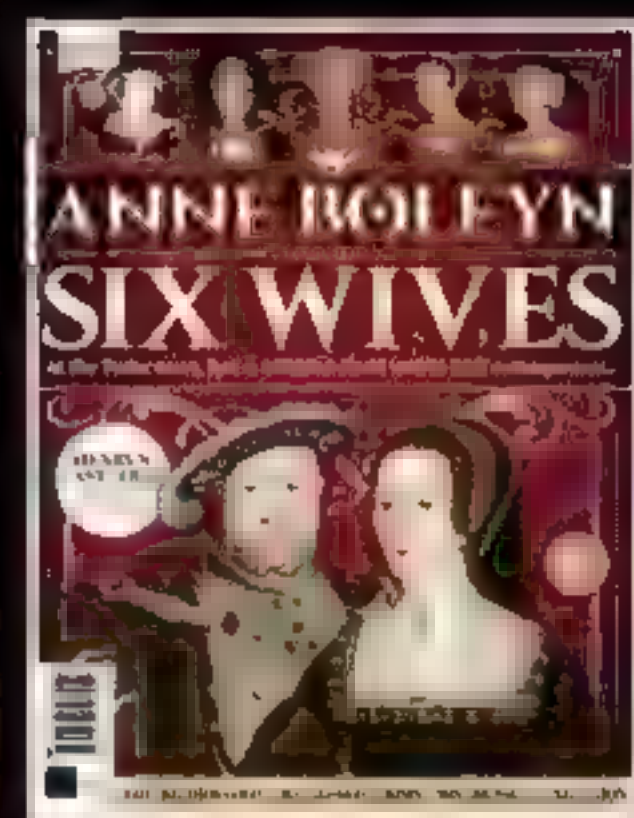
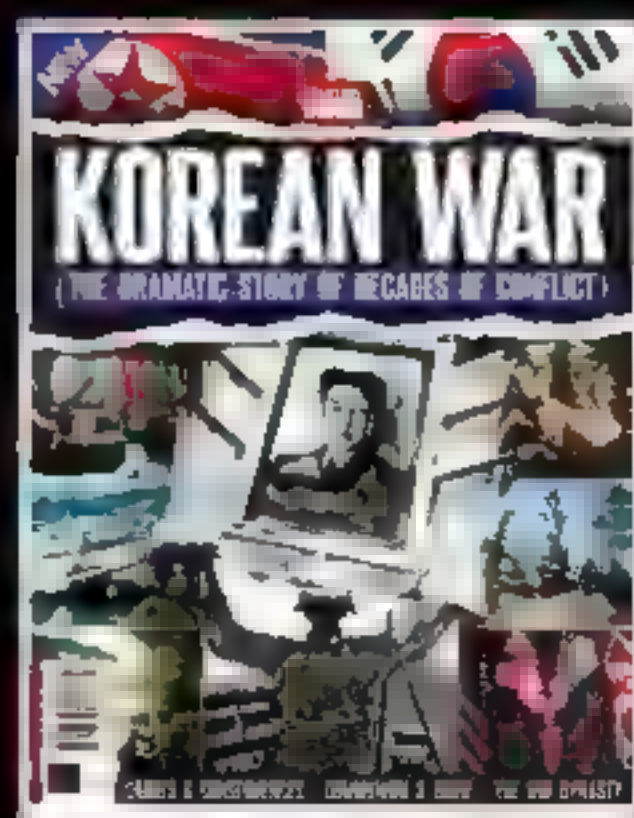
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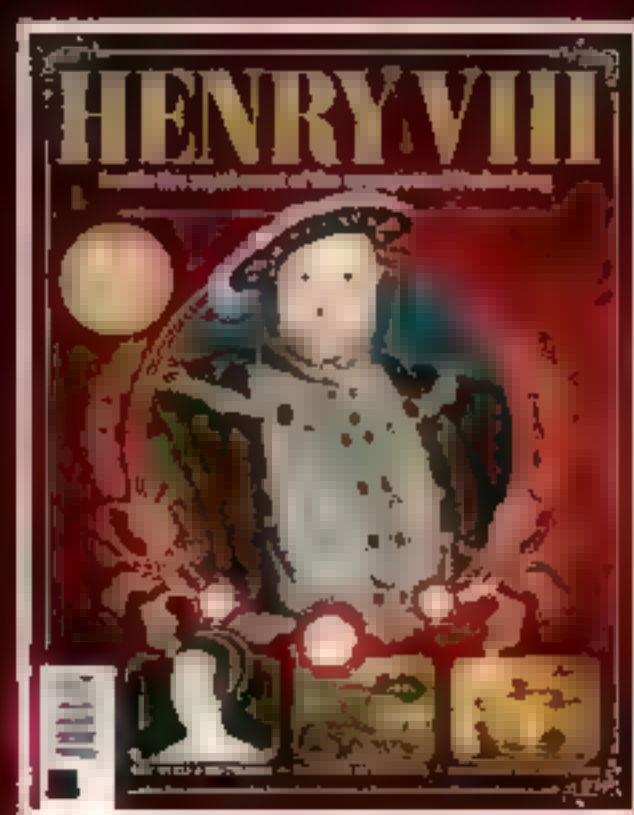
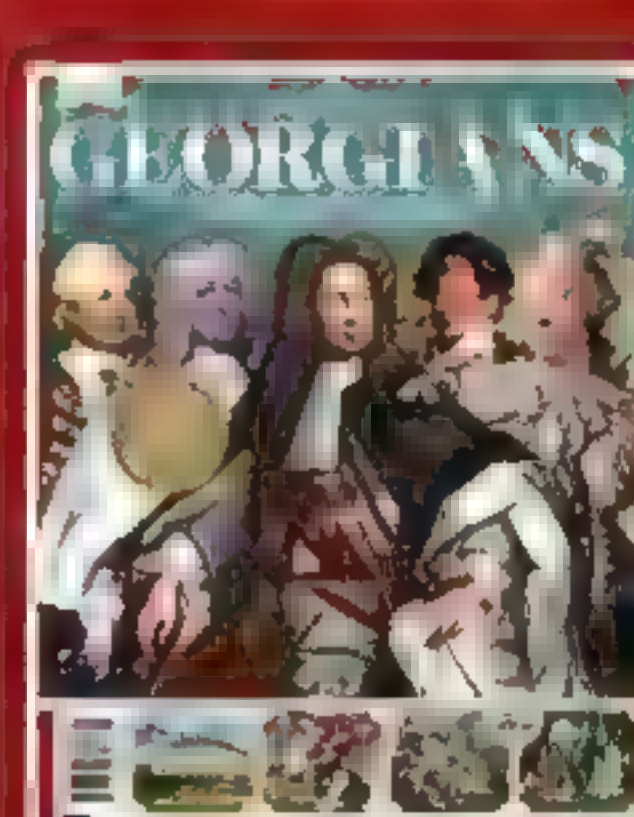
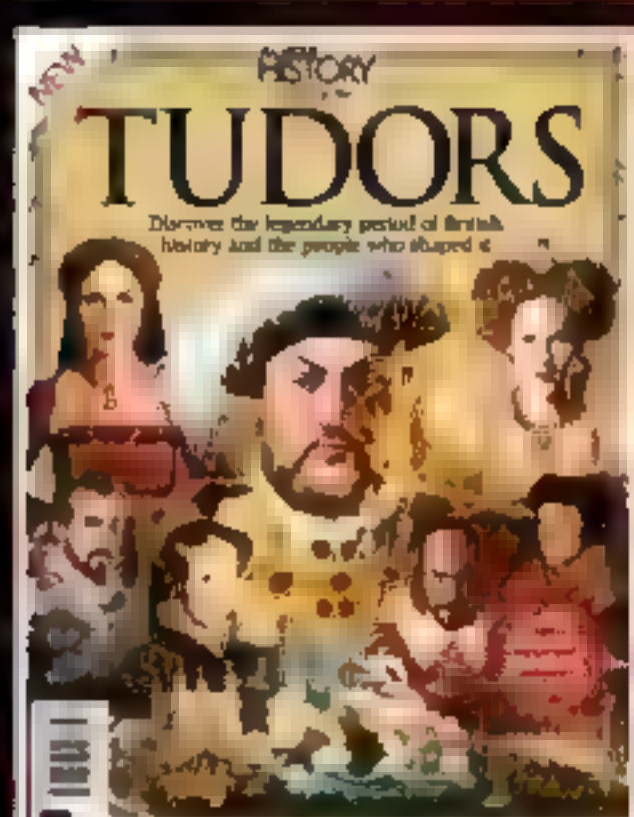
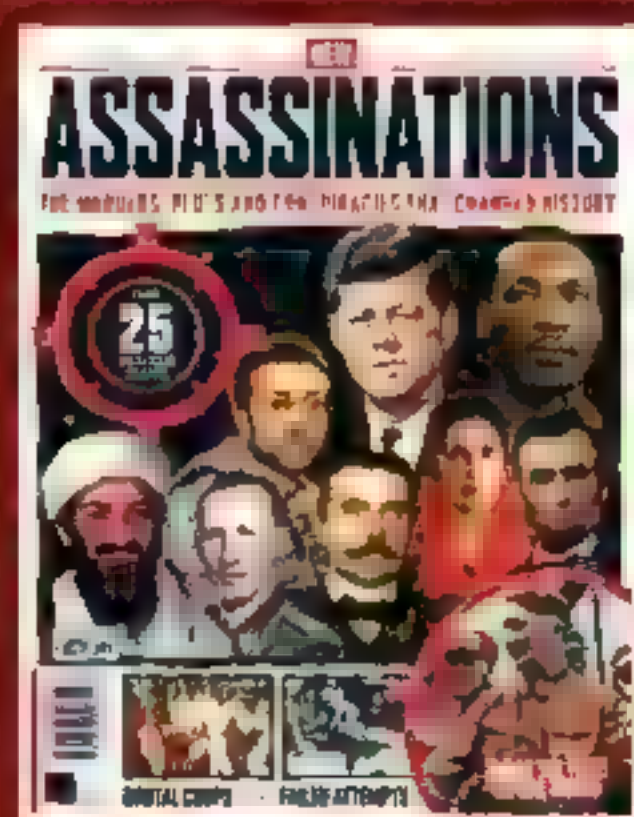


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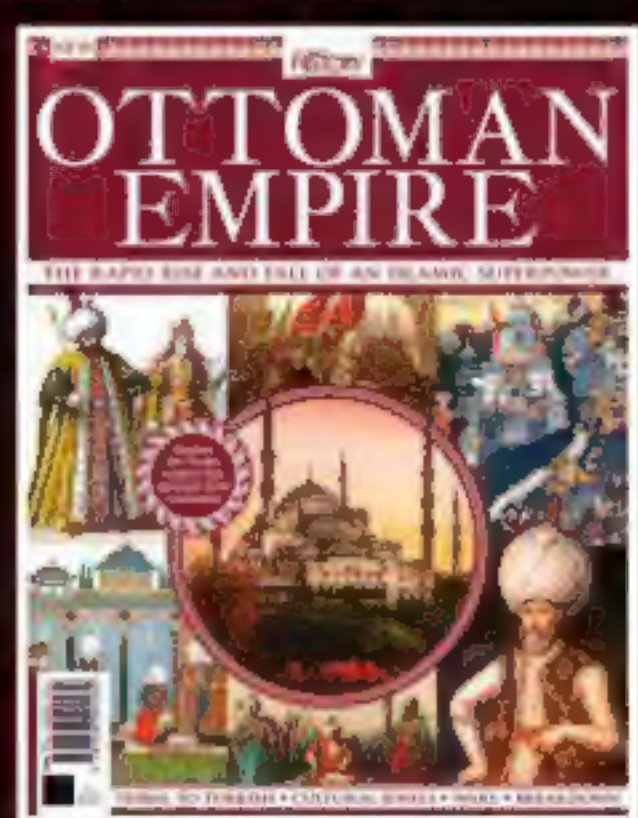
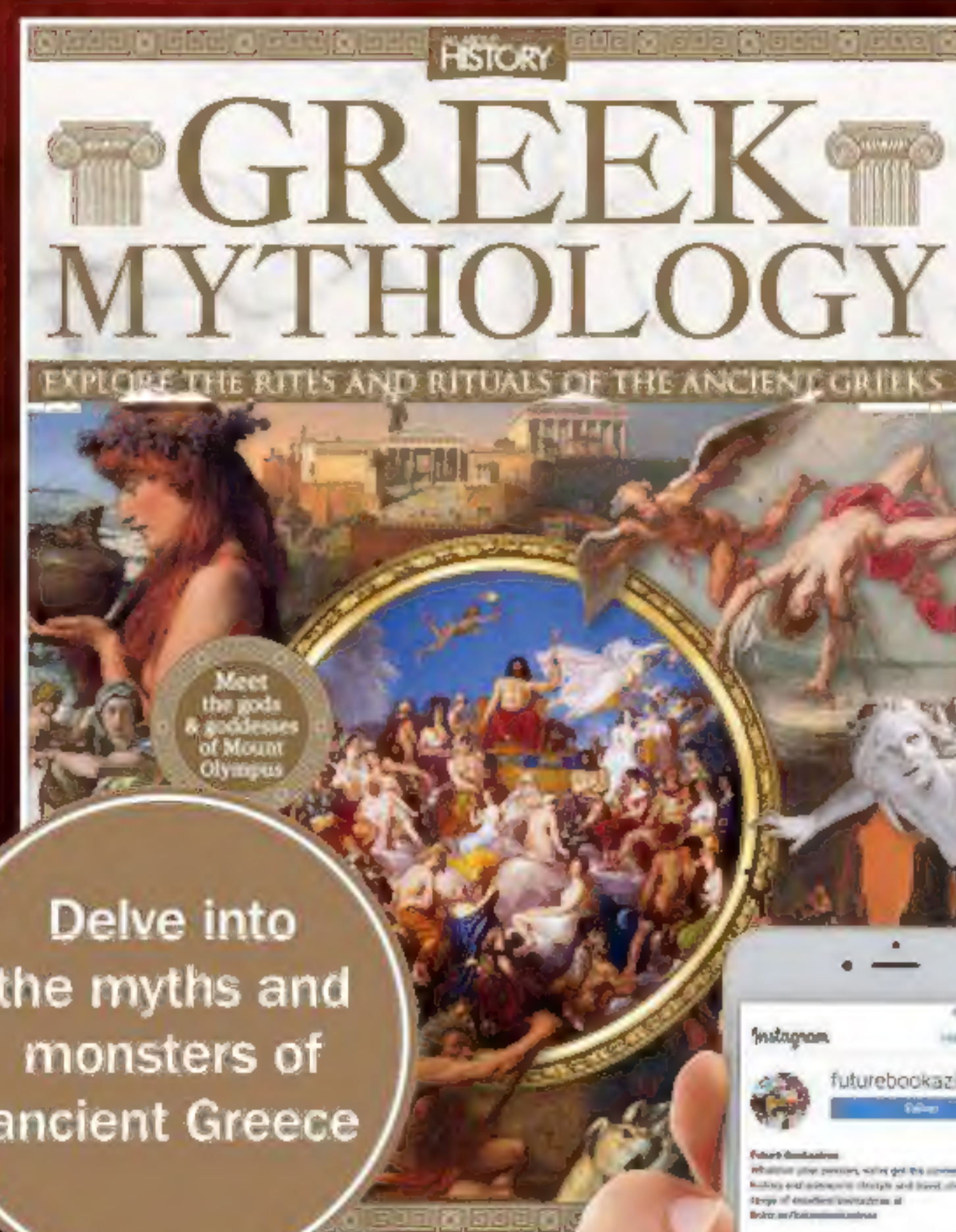
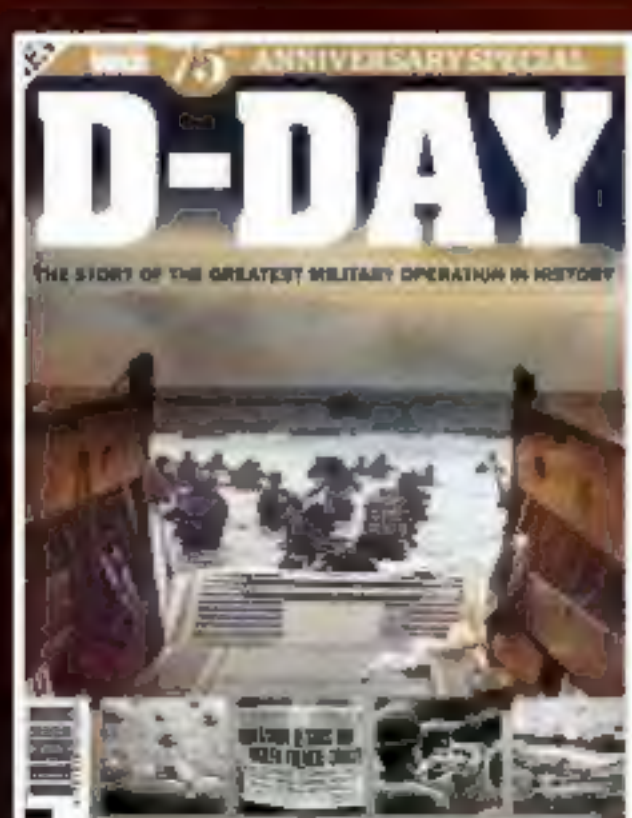


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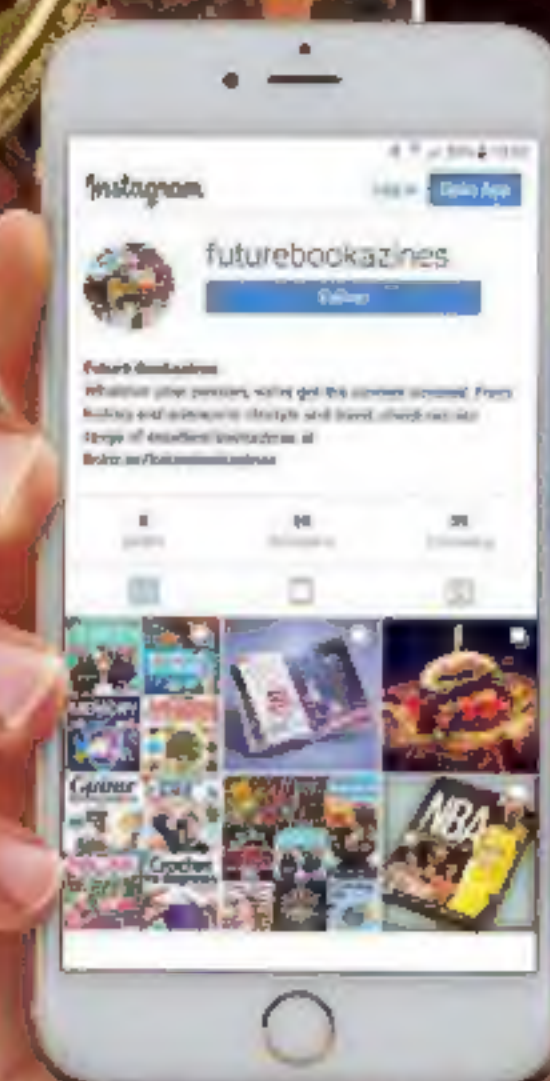
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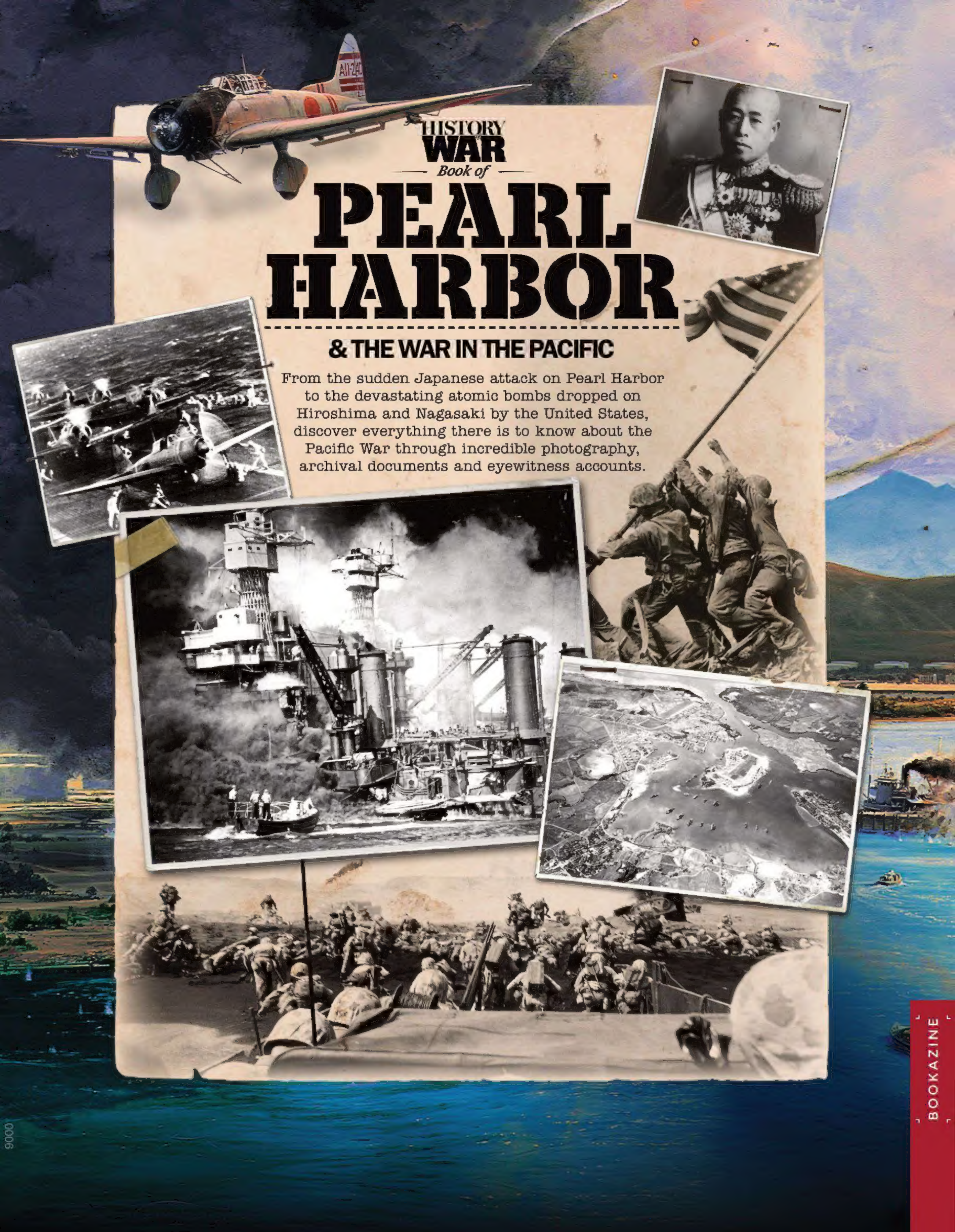
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